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OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH



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NOTICES

All communications, including manuscripts and books and pamphlets for
 review, to be addressed to **HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Garrison, N. Y.**

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 tributors.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Volume I

MARCH, 1932

No. 1

FOREWORD

BY THE PRESIDING BISHOP

During two centuries of the Church's expanding life on this continent, little has been done to make the story of its background available to American Churchmen. The contrast between the wealth of historical material and paucity of printed record is conspicuous. So much more sure, therefore, is the welcome awaiting the Historical Magazine, the first number of which will appear in March.

The form of the publication will commend it. Many who have found the few substantial volumes of American Church history uninviting, or have failed to find them at all, will turn with delight the pages of a magazine to gain from many sources a clear knowledge of their Christian heritage.

To the editors who have undertaken this important work, and to the contributors who have offered their labors in the field of research, the thanks of the whole Church is due. It is to be hoped that generous support will be given to the enterprise.

JAMES DE WOLF PERRY,
Presiding Bishop



EDITORIAL NOTES.

The General Convention of 1931 appointed a Joint Committee consisting of two bishops, two presbyters and two laymen charged with the duty of considering the advisability and feasibility of issuing a Quarterly Historical Magazine for the Protestant Episcopal Church. The committee consisted of Henry St. George Tucker, Bishop of Virginia; Charles E. Fiske, Bishop of Central New York; Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, Historiographer of the Church; and the Very Rev. Dean Sargent, of the Garden City Cathedral, together with Mr. John Stewart Bryan, of Richmond, Virginia, and Mr. C. M. K. Whittemore, of New Jersey.

By conference and correspondence the committee unanimously agreed that such a publication was eminently desirable. The suggestion originated with the librarian of one of the important colleges in this country, who pointed out other churches had tried the experiment with great success. There then remained the question of the feasibility of such a publication. It was felt that this depended upon the securing of an adequate financial backing to give the Magazine a chance to become self-supporting. A very small group of interested people have provided such a guarantee for a period of three years. Encouraged by this fact, the Joint Committee gave its cordial and unanimous approval to the plan. While it is in no sense official, it does go forth with the endorsement of the Joint Committee representing the General Convention.

It is a great satisfaction to those interested in this venture that it has the warm approval of the Presiding Bishop of the American Church. That approval not only finds expression in the thoughtful Foreword printed in this issue, but also in a letter addressed to the editor in the course of which

he writes: "I have received with very great interest your announcement of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. This will be of inestimable value to the Church in America, and I believe to the whole Anglican Communion. I shall look forward with pleasure to the appearance of the first number in March."

The editors would like to make it clear that the Magazine is designed to serve the *whole* Church under the jurisdiction of the General Convention. It will not be sectional. The East, the near and far South and New England are represented on the editorial staff. In the course of time it is hoped that the contributions here printed will cover the entire country and the regions beyond. Needless to say, it will know no ecclesiastical partisanship. Each group in the Church has made its own contribution to religious thought and development, and in chronicling the years that are past this publication will be free from party bias.

It will be noticed that the Magazine is published "under the auspices of the Church Historical Society", which has its headquarters in Philadelphia. For several years this Society, laboring under many handicaps, has made a gallant effort to create and foster interest in the history of our own Church. It has gathered a most valuable collection of pamphlets and Church papers bearing on that history. In spite of woefully limited financial resources, it has also published some excellent historical addresses, a list of which will appear later in this Magazine. It is a pleasure to note that the Society's books and pamphlets are in a fireproof room at the Philadelphia Divinity School and are freely available to students of our history.

The aforesaid Society is the legitimate successor of an earlier organization known as the Protestant Episcopal His-

torical Society dating back to about 1850, and which had for its moving spirit the Rev. Dr. Francis Lister Hawks, then Historiographer of this Church and the author of a number of most valuable historical publications. He was the first to gather our Archives and to secure transcripts of the papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and of the Bishops of London who had jurisdiction over the Church in the American colonies. In 1851 this Society commenced the publication of *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*. The first volume contains the letters of Keith and Talbot, and the "*Journal of the Travels of George Keith on the Continent of North America*", which Journal was first printed in London in 1706. The second volume, published in 1853, is a *Memoir of the Rev. Jacob Bailey*, born in 1731, and who was a frontier missionary in Maine and Nova Scotia. It is now a rare book, the copy in possession of the editor being the one formerly owned by Bishop John Williams, of Connecticut.

This Magazine aims to follow in the footsteps of these pioneers. From time to time it will print unpublished manuscripts and letters of which happily there is a large store, hitherto more or less inaccessible. It also hopes to make a beginning on the large task of compiling a Bibliography of printed and manuscript material and will be glad to hear from institutions and individuals possessing such material. The article in this issue on the sources of the Colonial period of our Church history is an admirable illustration of what can be done in this respect.

Among other features will be articles on diocesan and parochial histories; biographical studies; notices of historical articles in current publications; reviews of books and pamphlets and forthcoming historical celebrations. We shall be glad to receive and print queries such as appear in this issue, and to enlist the aid of our readers in answering them. The

clergy can help materially by sending copies of historical sermons and celebrations as they are printed in pamphlet form, or appear in the local newspapers.

We embark on this venture in confident reliance on the cordial cooperation of all who are interested in the history of this Church. Our primary need is help in securing annual subscriptions and in placing the Magazine in public and college libraries. Our only expense will be the cost of printing and distributing the Magazine; all else is a labor of love. It will be readily understood that we are not in a position to distribute free copies, and as we have no secretary, only cash subscriptions can be handled. We begin with forty-eight pages; expansion will be governed by the number of subscribers. Suggestions from readers will be cordially welcomed.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO NEW YORK TO ATTEND
THE TRIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE
EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE
U. S., 1832.*

With Introduction and Notes by the Editor.

The following is printed from the manuscript Journal of a lay deputy from the diocese of Rhode Island to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church which was held in the City of New York from Wednesday, October 17, to Wednesday, October 31, 1832. It was the day of small things for the American Church. Nine bishops constituted the upper House, which met under the presidency of the venerable William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania. In the House of Deputies nineteen dioceses were represented in the clerical order, and seventeen in the lay order. The presiding officer of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies was the Rev. Dr. William E. Wyatt, rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, Md.

Two things mark the importance of this Convention. During its sessions four bishops were consecrated at one service: John Henry Hopkins for Vermont; Benjamin Bosworth Smith for Kentucky; Charles P. McIlvaine for Ohio, and George Washington Doane for New Jersey. The other event of import was the problem created by the abrupt resignation of jurisdiction by Bishop Philander Chase, of the diocese of Ohio. This Journal gives a graphic description of the debate on the question.

The writer of the Journal was Mr. Alexander Jones, a lay deputy from Rhode Island. He is listed in the Journal of the Convention as "Alexander Jones, Esq.," and served as a member of the Committee on Canons. The original MS. is in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Jonathan E. Johnson, of Fall River, Mass.

Alexander Jones, born at Mendon (now Milford), Mass., August 8, 1764, was the son of Joseph

Jones, Jr., and his wife, Ruth (Nelson) Jones. He graduated from Brown University, Providence, R. I., in 1782. After his graduation he taught school for a time and then became a shipping clerk. In 1787 he went by sloop to Charleston, S. C., and entered into business for himself. On January 28, 1790, he was married in Charleston to Mary Farquhar. In 1805 he moved with his family to Providence, R. I., and engaged in the selling of cotton. The house in which he lived is still standing. Mr. Jones was a communicant of St. John's Church, the mother church of Providence, and was for several years treasurer of the Diocese of Rhode Island. He died in that city on March 19, 1840.

His son, also named Alexander, entered the ministry of the Church. He was ordered Deacon by Bishop Alexander Viets Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese, on September 6, 1822. For some years he was rector of St. Andrew's Parish, Charlestown, Jefferson county, Va., and later of the historic St. John's Church, Richmond, Va. He died February 15, 1874, at the age of seventy-eight.

Providence, Oct. 14, 1832.

"Left at 12. 100 passengers. 17 Clergymen of the Ep. Ch. Bishop Griswold,¹ Bishop Elect Mr. Hopkins,² Mr. Crocker,³ Taft,⁴ Wheaton,⁵ Stone,⁶ Edson,⁷ West,⁸ Potter,⁹ Price,¹⁰ Burroughs,¹¹ Clapp,¹² Miniker Nash, Richmond,¹³ Barney &c. At 7 Mr Richmond del'd an interesting address on the situa-

*The spelling and punctuation is printed as in the MS.

¹Bishop Alexander Viets Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese.

²Dr. John Henry Hopkins, Bishop-elect of Vermont, who was consecrated during the sessions of the Convention.

³Rev. Nathan B. Crocker, D. D., rector of St. John's, Providence, R. I.

⁴Rev. George Taft, rector of St. Paul's, North Providence, R. I.

⁵Rev. Salmon Wheaton, D. D., rector of Trinity Church, Newport, R. I.

⁶Rev. John S. Stone, rector of St. Paul's, Boston, Mass.

⁷Rev. Theodore Edson, rector of St. Ann's, Lowell, Mass.

⁸Rev. John West, rector of St. Thomas's, Taunton, Mass.

⁹Rev. Wm. T. Potter, rector of Christ Church, Quincy, Mass.

¹⁰Rev. Joseph H. Price, "residing in Boston".

¹¹Rev. Charles Burroughs, rector of St. John's, Portsmouth, N. H.

¹²Rev. Joel Clap, rector of Christ Church, Gardiner, Me.

¹³Rev. James C. Richmond, Deacon, Rhode Island.

tion of Greece—the passengers very attentive. Closed by prayer by Mr Edson.

Had much conversation with several of the Clergy. The weather was very clear, but cool when we started. Wind N. W. the water was quite smooth at sea and in the sound & no under swell—I have never passed when there was so little motion, and none of the Ladies were sick.

Tuesday, Oct. 15.

Clear and pleasant—wind S. W.—We arrived at the Wharf at 6½ A. M. After the bustle was over took Hack and Cart & went up bag and baggage to my daughter W——— S——— Went around to F———'s in Laurence St & found all well & saw for the first time my youngest grandchild—Mary B——— and the smallest baby I ever saw, breakfasted and went down in the accommodation— Called at Trinity Ch. where were 6 of our Bishops & many of our Clergy as a board of Trustees of the Gen. Theo. Sem of Ep. Ch.—heard some debating and good speaking. Then I went to Mr W-s office, Exch. Pl—and returned to dinner. P. M. wrote W. J. at Bridgeport, & went to the wharves to find a packet, & at length found the Sloop Fame at Peck's slip.

There is great excitement in this City at this time respecting the approaching election of President,¹⁴ & especially as to that of Pennsylvania & N. Y. State— President Jackson is losing friends fast—a great many persons collected before the printing offices in Wall St., at 5 o Clk to wait for the news from Penn—was very much fatigued at night.

Wednesday.

Cloudy in the morning— At 10 rode down, Called at Swords'¹⁵ at 11 to St. Paul's Ch. prayers by Dr Montgomery¹⁶—Ante-Com service by Bishops White¹⁷ and Griswold. Sermon by Dr Henry U. Onderdonk, Ast-Bis of Pennsylvania—good & sensible and more liberal than I expected.

¹⁴The reference is to the campaign of Andrew Jackson for re-election as President of the United States. His opponent was Henry Clay and the issue was the United States Bank.

¹⁵A well-known Church bookseller.

¹⁶Rev. James Montgomery, D. D., rector of St. Stephen's, Philadelphia.

¹⁷Bishop of Pennsylvania and Presiding Bishop.

Com administered by 4 Bishops—a great number of Clergy—Services very long—a large congregation.

Con. organized—Dr Wyatt¹⁸ Chairman, and afterwards elected President by one State majority—each order voted separately—went to Wall St. & returned to Tea at F——— S.

Thursday. Clear and very warm for the season. Con met at St. John's¹⁹ service at 10 by Dr Delancey²⁰ and Bishop White. Many committees appointed—rules established &c—adjourned at 2 P. M. A very warm walk to Houston St—found B. B. Smith²¹ there. At 3 went with him in Ac to dine at Rev. Mr Jacksons²²—No 50 Franklin St.

Bishop Mead,²³ Rev^d Mr Fitch²⁴, and Hooker²⁵ of the party—Very good dinner—while there his brothers Edw^d of Winchester & Tho^s of Bristol, Penn.,—came—both Ep Ministers.

Ev, went with H———D to hear Mr Judah²⁶ of Bridgeport preach at St. Stephen's—was some disappointed—sermon good and sound but wanted unction in manner. Rev^d Mr W. Jackson—Rector—performed service well—no monotony.

Friday.

Cloudy—wind N. E. No very important business transacted in Con—a report of Joint Com on the vacancy in Ohio produced much debate on the documents,²⁷ & was made the order of the day for 12 M. Monday.

¹⁸Rev. William E. Wyatt, D. D., rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore.

¹⁹St. John's Chapel, Hudson Square.

²⁰Rev. William H. De Lancey, D. D., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, afterwards first Bishop of Western New York.

²¹Rev. Bosworth B. Smith, D. D., rector of Christ Church, Lexington, Ky. Consecrated Bishop of Kentucky during this Convention.

²²Rev. William Jackson, rector of St. Stephen's, New York City.

²³Bishop William Meade, of Virginia.

²⁴Rev. Augustus Fitch, rector of St. Ann's, and Principal of an Academy at Bloomingdale, N. Y.

²⁵Rev. Herman Hooker, Deacon, minister of St. John's, Troy, N. Y.

²⁶Rev. Henry R. Judah, rector of St. John's, Bridgeport, Conn.

²⁷On September 9, 1831, Bishop Philander Chase resigned his episcopate of Ohio and removed from the Diocese. On September 7, 1832, the Diocese of Ohio elected as Bishop the Rev. Dr. C. P. McIlvaine, and applied to this Convention for consent to his consecration. The debate turned upon the principle as to whether or no a Bishop could resign of his own will, with or without the consent of his Diocese.

I dined with Dr Milnor,²⁸ present, Rev^d Messers Neufville,²⁹ Hawley,³⁰ Hicks, Judd,³¹ & Nash,³² Dr Cooke³³ & Mr Hart.³⁴

Ev. went to Ascension Church & heard a very superior sermon from Rev^d J. Johns³⁵—his manner very impressive and earnest.

Saturday.

It rained last night but cleared away pleasant and warm. At 9 attended Com on Canons at Bishop's room St. John's—Bishops White, Bowen,³⁶ and Onderdonk— Dr Gadsen,³⁷ Delancey, Crocker, Rudd,³⁸ Cook, Dr Croswell,³⁹ & self—also Mr. Hogg.⁴⁰—At X Service XI Con—pay^{ts} made for each Clergyman 75 Cts.

Com on *Selection of Psalms* made a report with *selections*—a sharp debate came on which cont'd to after 3 P. M., when Con. adjourned. P. M., went to Wall St, & at 6 to Bishop Onderdonk's⁴¹ in Murray St—a splendid residence & the most splendid furniture—at 7 the Com on Canons met—a quorum of 7—White, H. U. Onderdonk—Drs Gadsen, Croswell, Delancey, Rev^d Crocker & self. sat till 9½ passed Canons to 20th with amendments—a pleasant time on the whole—had the pleasure to receive a letter from home—all well & all things go on well.

²⁸Rev. Dr. James Milnor, rector of St. George's, New York City.

²⁹Rev. Edward Neufville, rector of Christ Church, Savannah, Ga.

³⁰Rev. William Hawley, rector of St. John's, Washington City.

³¹Rev. Dr. Bethel Judd, rector of St. Peter's and Principal of the Episcopal Academy, Cheshire, Conn.

³²Rev. Sylvester Nash, rector of Union Church, St. Alban's, Vt.

³³John E. Cooke, M. D., lay deputy from Kentucky.

³⁴Rev. William H. Hart, rector of St. Andrew's, Walden, N. Y.

³⁵Rev. John Johns, rector of Christ Church, Baltimore, Md., and later Bishop of Virginia.

³⁶Rt. Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, rector of St. Michael's, Charleston, and Bishop of South Carolina.

³⁷Rev. Dr. Christopher E. Gadsen, rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, and later Bishop of South Carolina.

³⁸Rev. Dr. John C. Rudd, rector of St. Peter's, Auburn, N. Y.

³⁹Rev. Dr. Harry Croswell, rector of Trinity, New Haven, Conn.

⁴⁰Mr. Gavin Hogg, lay deputy from North Carolina.

⁴¹Rt. Rev. Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Bishop of New York.

Walked up with Dr C who is unwell—I was much fatigued.
 Sunday—21 Oct.

Clear and pleasant. Went A. M. with F— to Dr Broadheads Ch⁴²—it being Com. Sun. which they have only once a quarter—the sermon relating to Communion was very good—he said that when he came to that Ch. there were only 60 Communicants, now there is between 3 & 400—they lost only 4 of Cholera. A narrow table was laid across the Ch. which was filled & all the persons near the pulpit—a very solemn & impressive season—the Ref. Dutch have a liturgy, part of which was used. P. M. went to St. Thomas' & sat in Mr Austin's pew—full cong. Dr Montgomery of Phil preached a long sermon, & pretty Close, but not experimental & spiritual, very hi C, & manner monotonous.

Ev. went to St. John's to hear Bishop Ives,⁴³ but as he was indisposed, Dr Croswell preached a *cold moral* sermon, it was well written & well delivered but wanted *soul*. "Now it is high time to awake out of sleep"—a large congregation—sat in Dr Berrian's pew.⁴⁴

At the Tri. S. S. sermon by Dr Delancey at St. Paul's. \$130 collected at the meeting in favor of the Greek Mission—on Sat. Evng. \$561 was collected—400 of which was given by Dr Willett as a thank offering in part of cash rec'd for attending the poor during the Cholera—say from the City.

Monday.

A N. E. storm commenced last night & continued thr the day. At 9½ went to St. John's to meet the Com on the Canons—present Bishops White, Bowen & Onderdonk, Drs Gadsen, Croswell, Rudd & C-Newton Hoggs & self—passed upon all the 52 except the 2nd—adjourned to 9 tomorrow—the Com. sat during the sermon in the Ch. Tri Miss of D & F Ep So by

⁴²Rev. Dr. Jacob Brodhead, born at Marbletown, N. Y., was minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Broome Street, New York City, from 1826 to 1837. He died June 5, 1855.

⁴³Levi Silliman Ives, Bishop of North Carolina.

⁴⁴Rev. Dr. William Berrian, rector of Trinity Parish, New York City.

Bishop White—very small congregation & of course very small collection.

At 1 P. M. Con. met. At 1½ the great debate commenced after reading the Reports of Maj & Min on the resignation of Bp Chase in Ohio—Judge Dow (Duer)⁴⁵ made a very elaborate & learned speech in favor of the resignation & remuneration of Bishops, & read many authorities as far back as 3rd or 4th Centuries—adjourned after 3 o'clock. It raining very hard did not go out but occupied my time in writing & reading N. E. Evangelist &c.

Tuesday.

A. M. clear & cool—P. M. Cloudy & windy. At 9 went to Bishop's room—St. John's & took up the 2nd Canon⁴⁶ & reduced the qualifications of States to appoint Bishops to 6 Presbyters & 6 parishes. At 11½ the debate on the resignation of Bp Chase was resumed by Judge Dow (Duer) in contin & closed at 1½—his address yesterday & today over 3 hours—Dr Delancey commenced in opposition, & in support of the minority report & in an equally eloquent manner spoke 1½ hours & then at 3 P. M. gave way to adjourn.

To day we commenced staying at our Son B's—who still resides at No . . . Lawrence St—dined & drank tea there—

Wednesday.

Clear & Cool.

Con. met at 9 for prayers. I went down at 9½—at X Dr Delancey continued his speech for an hour—Mr Donaldson⁴⁷ of Maryland del^d a short speech—so did Dr Lyis, both on the same side & opposed to the resignation of Bishops—at 1 P. M. Dr Ducachet⁴⁸ made an animated & well digested speech on the other side & quoted many authorities—at 2 Dr Montgomery commenced on the other side & delivered a loud declamatory speech, in an unpleasant manner—at 3 the Con.

⁴⁵William A. Duer, LL. D., was one of the Lay Deputies from the Diocese of New York and a noted ecclesiastical lawyer.

⁴⁶The second Canon dealt with the election of Bishops.

⁴⁷Samuel J. Donaldson, Lay Deputy from Maryland.

⁴⁸Rev. Dr. Ducachet, rector of Christ Church, Norfolk, Va.

adjourned till 7 when he finished by 8 to the great relief of Con. Peter A. Jay⁴⁹ commenced a luminous speech & gave a history of the Ch in a pleasant and conclusive manner, & beyond all dispute cleared away all obstacles to resignations & at 10 Con. adjourned to 9 O'clock tomorrow.

At 5 I rode to Wall St—in the reading room I found that Jackson has prevailed in Ohio, & it depressed my spirits—I almost despair of the Republic—The Lord Reigns!

Thursday—

Clear & pleasant. At X went to Con—P. A. Jay continued and concluded his fine address—Mr Gavin Hogg⁵⁰ followed on the other side, told us he was high Ch—& not divested of prejudice—Dr Judd of Con made a short speech in favor of Ohio. Dr Delancey again spoke in favor of his minority report in favor of delaying 6 mo & trying to effect a reconciliation with Bishop Chase—Adj^d at 3 P. M.

Even—heard Bishop Meade with much pleasure on the Missionary Cause at St. Thomas', his sermon was 1¼ hours long—the congregation large and attentive—on Christ's *new* Commandment.

Friday.

Clear & cold. at X walked with Dr Crocker to Con. several fine speeches made & at last the previous question was called & vote taken on joint report in favor of Ohio. by yeas & nays—by States & orders & lost. Majority of Clergy *against* & Laity *for*—adjourned at 3 when I went down in Greenwich accom. to Wall St. got coffee & pie at Exchange—took tea at Mr W's in Worcester St. At 7 went to Con—a variety of propositions made & recalled & at length the vote on the Minority report was taken & lost—the vote the same as above—adj at 9½.

Saturday 27th Oct.

Cloudy & warm. at X went to Con. a vote after a warm debate on resolutions from the House of Bishops was taken

⁴⁹Peter A. Jay, Lay Deputy from New York.

⁵⁰Lay Deputy from North Carolina.

by Ayes & Nays—States & Orders—Clergy vs. Laity for last—Resolutions of nearly the same import from S. Carolina after Previous question to stop debate was taken & *carried* by *both orders* to fill the vacancy in Ohio & sign testimonials, which was accordingly done for the Bishops elect: McIlvaine—Smith—Hopkins & Doane⁵¹—I did not sign Mr. Doane's as I have *no evidence* of his *piety*—the delegations of Mass & Maine did not sign—adjourned at 3½ P. M. Thus has terminated an important question after 6 days eloquent debate & much feeling & excitement.

Sunday—

Clear & cool. A. M. I heard Dr Ducachet preach at St. Thomas'—was some disappointed altho the sermon was good and spiritual—"behold ye despisers and wonder & perish". P. M. Went to Ascension Ch. heard Mr Hopkins Bishop-elect with much pleasure—a talented spiritual & eloquent discourse—manner not very impressive but good—and not enough of Christ in it—"Godliness is profitable for all things" &c. Ev. went to St. Thomas' & heard with much pleasure and attention Dr Hawkes⁵²—text "Without me ye can do nothing"—very eloquent from the beginning to the ending & quite spiritual & close—but there was a want of unction—the attention of a large audience was kept up in a breathless manner, but still there was a want of feeling & affection—Dr H is certainly a pulpit orator of the first class.

Dr Ducachet paid the two families a friendly visit on last evening—he looks older.

Monday.

Clear & pleasant. At X went to Con. no business of much importance transacted—adjourned at 2 P. M. Went to Wall St & Exchange. At 7½ went to the evening session—debates on Resignation of Bishops and a long Canon to prevent—twice

⁵¹George Washington Doane, Bishop-elect of New Jersey.

⁵²Rev. Dr. Francis Lister Hawks, rector of St. Thomas', New York.

the house was equally divided—at length it passed by a small majority of States & orders.

Tuesday.

Clear & pleasant. At X to Con. passed some Canons—adj at 3 to meet at 5½ P. M. Went to St. John's to Con—we finished the Canons—at 8½ the bishops came in & Bishop White who is 84½ years old read the pastoral letter drawn up by himself—an hour long—at X left before the adjournment.

Wednesday—

Clear, warm & pleasant.

At 9 rode down to a meeting of Convention & Clergy at the College (Columbia) met in the Library which is not very large—some rare books & old ones—several portraits of presidents & patrons—at 10½ a large number formed in procession & went to St. Paul's to occupy pews prepared or rather reserved for us—Service read by Dr Wyatt & Wilson⁵³—Com Ser by Bishops White, Bowen & Griswold—Sermon preached by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk—not very superior—the four candidates for Consecration⁵⁴ sat in one pew with Rochets—that is white surplices without sleeves—Com was administered by Bishops White, Griswold, Bowen & H. U. Onderdonk—the full dresses put on during Consecration. It was a very imposing spectacle & still more so to see 12 Bishops in full Costume in the Chancel—Bishop Stone⁵⁵ being absent, also Bishops Moore⁵⁶ and Chase⁵⁷—those present—White, Griswold, Bowen, H. U. Onderdonk, Benj. Onderdonk, Ives, Meade, Brownell,⁵⁸ McIlvaine, Hopkins, Smith & Doane.

⁵³Rev. Dr. Bird Wilson, Professor of Systematic Divinity in the General Theological Seminary.

⁵⁴Bishops-elect: John Henry Hopkins (Vermont); Charles P. McIlvaine (Ohio); Benjamin Bosworth Smith (Kentucky) and George Washington Doane (New Jersey).

⁵⁵William Murray Stone, Bishop of Maryland.

⁵⁶Richard Channing Moore, Bishop of Virginia.

⁵⁷Bishop Philander Chase.

⁵⁸Thomas Church Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut.

Thursday—

Clear & warm—awoke at 4—got up at 5 while it was yet dark—went for the Coach & at 5½ I took C (granddaughter) down to the Railroad line for Phil^a—foot of Barclay St. I there witnessed such a scene of confusion as I never met with before—passengers, baggage, carts & coaches all mixed up. Bishop Meade was not in time, but went in the other line—placed C under the protection of Bishop Smith, gave him \$15 to pay C's expenses to Baltimore and hurried ashore.

I walked down to Mr Eastburn's⁵⁹—he was out—To Mr Lowe's he was out—Saw Mrs L—she begins to look old—to Swords—Wall St. Called on Mr C. Harris and Mr Asaph Stone &c to enquire for a place for E—K—without success. To my astonishment found that Wm. Sprague, jr., was elected Speaker of the Assembly of R. I. by one majority on the 12th ballot—as p Journal of yesterday. The great Hotel in Dedham and stables was burnt up on Tuesday & 50 Or 60 horses.

Dined at the Tontine—went over to Brooklyn, called on Bishop McIlvaine & had a pleasant call at Mr Springs—returned to the City much fatigued & went up in accom—

Friday, 2nd, Nov.

Clear, warm, pleasant. Walked round to Mr W's with my little grandson—went down in the accom, had a tete a tete with Mr Turpin formerly of Charleston—now 78 years old. To the reading room in the Exchange—Mr W's office &c—Even 9. went with Mr Wood to Bible Class at St. Thomas'—about 100 persons present principally females—Dr Hawks was very experimental & interesting. Found on my return Mr Lloyd of Charleston who is husband to my neice—he appears to be an intelligent & prom young man & he thinks of settling in N. Y.

Saturday—

still clear & pleasant—P. M. rode down—great collections

⁵⁹Rev. Manturn Eastburn, rector of the Church of the Ascension, later Bishop of Massachusetts.

before the printing offices & much rejoicing at the election in Phila City & Country for Anti Jackson Electors—the news was brought from Phila in 6 hours—96 miles—anotⁿ from Europe say the King of Spain & Sir Walter Scott are dead—Spent the evening at home—

Sunday—

cloudy & warm—Went to Ascension Ch—Mr Eastburn's sermon was good & spiritual but not great—After Ch I called at Mrs B's—saw Judge Jay who introduced me to his brother Peter A. Jay & Lady—

While at dinner our nephew. J. F. G. came in—arrived this morning from Liverpool—he looks nice—had very large black whiskers—went with me to St. Thomas'—Dr. Hawks gave us a good sermon from "Peter went out and wept bitterly".

Monday—

went by the 8th Ward Hotel—the place of voting today for Electors—Many flags were flying—banners &c & some bustle—walked down to Wall St. stopped on the way at Sword's reading room—Called at the Standard office & find the Jackson electors are ahead a few thousand in Pennsylvania & probably his Electors are chosen & I apprehend N. Y. will follow his example—It is devoutly & ardently wished by all pious & property men that there may be a change of administration to save the Country. My spirits are considerably depressed by the news & the prospect before us—Bank stock has fallen greatly [] U. S. P. M. rode down to Wall St. the ans^r from Penn a little more favorable find U. S. Stock sold today at 117—Sat at 120—

At 7½ went to St. Thomas' Ch—heard Dr Hawks read much missionary intelligence respecting the first Missionaries In India—Swartz in particular who converted 2000 heathen & he made an interesting address in favor of Missions—Parish Library &c—that parish has raised in less than a year \$3000.

Tuesday, 6th—

This has been a very unpleasant day in all respects—the weather and the political news as to the election in Penn—Wednesday—

Still cloudy & damp—A. M. I walked down thro Green Church—Anthony St to 5 Points out of curiosity—down Pearl & up Beekman & Dr Milnor's—had a very pleasant interview of a hour—to Wall St—

Thursday—

I find that Jackson has nearly 6000 majority out of 30,000 votes given in—which is 5000 more than ever was polled in this City—he appears also to be well supported throughout the Country—Our Country is in a *fearful crisis* but “the Lord reigneth” & may He direct our rulers for the good of our heretofore favored land—in Him is my trust—

Friday—

Cloudy & quite cold in the morning—afterwards it cleared off pleasantly. At 10½ I took my two grandchildren to ride in the Accommodation, both dressed in Nankeen & Caps—stopd at Mrs B's—then to the Confectionary in William St. bo^t a quantity of peppermints &c then to Wall St and home—At 3¼ took leave and went on board Steamer Franklin where were 80 or 90 passengers—among them Rev^d James Richmond who addressed us respecting the Greeks & explained Scripture by the customs of the East—it was quite interesting—& then he read evening prayers—On retiring to my berth at X I found it occupied by S. A. jr through mistake—& I took his—No 4 which was not so good—

Saturday, Nov 10th—

Clear & cool—arrived at Newport at sunrise—a smooth passage, but did not rest much—as the bed was *hard* & pillows very *small*—at 8½ one of the supply pumps gave way and we used only one wheel—I arrived at 10 O'clock & found W—on the wharf with my Chaise—

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF OUR CHURCH HISTORY.

(COLONIAL PERIOD.)

BY EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON.

FOREWORD.

A discussion of the whereabouts of source material relative to the Church of England in the American colonies cannot be exhaustive. Doubtless many stray letters have found their way into private hands; a few of them have survived the changes incident to the life of an old parish, and are still guarded among the local treasures, along with vestry books, treasurers' statements, and other documents. Numerous libraries—and sometimes those which the scholar has never thought of—possess valuable papers, note-books, and diaries which would go far towards solving the unanswered questions of the historian. While fires, transfers of residence, and an all too prevalent indifference to the importance of old records have conspired to reduce the quantity and quality of what must have been a considerable output, the hope springs eternal that new evidences may come to light.

It is my intention to suggest the most productive fields of research; and I hope that in subsequent issues of the *Quarterly* additional information may be furnished. The Library of Congress has obtained transcripts and photostats of a large part of the material in British archives; and those who have experienced the difficulties and expense of consulting the originals will feel deeply grateful for the ready accessibility thus afforded.

Besides local parish records, a few of which may still be found in the custody of the older parishes or in the libraries of some of the states and historical societies and colleges, the main source of colonial An-

glican history is in the letters written by the missionaries in America to their diocesan, the Bishop of London, and to the great organization which largely supported their activities, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, usually known as the "S. P. G." It will strike the student with a sense of one-sidedness that nearly all the correspondence is from America, while very few of the letters written to the missionaries are in existence; but this gap will be bridged by a reference to the S. P. G. Journals, where the transactions of the Venerable Society with respect to the missionaries in America are rather fully described.

In 1836, the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal Church, visited England and made transcripts of such manuscripts relating to the history of the Church of England in the colonies as were to be found in the archives of the S. P. G., as well as in Fulham Palace (the residence of the Bishop of London) and in Lambeth Palace (the London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury). The work was not exhaustive; and that many errors crept into the copying is asserted by the late Professor Herbert L. Osgood of Columbia. Still an important beginning was made in the right direction. The Hawks Transcripts, as they are called, consist of seventeen bound folio volumes; for some time they were kept at the Church Missions House at 281 Fourth avenue, New York, but have recently been placed in the care of the New York Historical Society, where they may be consulted. An index of this material may be found on pages 99-128 of Dr. William Henry Allison's *Inventory of Unpublished Material for American Religious History in Protestant Church Archives and Other Repositories* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1910). Some of the transcripts have been printed in the *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, containing numerous hitherto unpublished Documents concerning the Church in Connecticut* (two vol-

umes), by Drs. Hawks and Perry, and in Bishop Perry's *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*. This latter series consists of four volumes, containing copies of letters and documents bearing upon the colonial history of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Delaware. Before leaving the Hawks Transcripts, it should be said that it is doubtful if any serious inaccuracies have been perpetrated.

The Hawks Manuscripts, which are owned by the New York Historical Society and do not comprise part of the official archives of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, are not to be confused with the Hawks Transcripts. They are not transcripts, but original letters and documents, collected by Dr. Hawks. There is some very interesting correspondence between the local clergymen, in which unofficially they discuss their problems. Quite a number of letters from British ecclesiastics, such as the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, and the Secretaries of the S. P. G., are included. The collection is particularly rich in New York material.

I.

FULHAM PALACE MANUSCRIPTS.

The archives of the Bishop of London contain over two thousand letters and miscellaneous papers relating to the Church of England during the colonial period in America. The manuscripts are uncatalogued and are kept loose in some thirty paste-board boxes; and are subject to rearrangement. A considerable proportion were transcribed by Dr. Hawks and are accessible either among the Hawks Transcripts or in the printed works of Dr. Hawks and Bishop Perry. An index to this material may be found on pages 303-329 of the Andrews and Davenport *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Ox-*

ford and Cambridge (Washington: The Carnegie Institution, 1908).

Transcripts of this material have been made for the Library of Congress; and the following classification has been preserved.

1. Material relating to Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Connecticut, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, Canada, Newfoundland, Barbadoes, the Bahama Islands, Bermuda, and the affairs of the S. P. G. and the Church in America. The following box-labels which enable the student to locate the colony under investigation:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Pennsylvania. | Canada. |
| 2. Massachusetts, I.
Connecticut. | Bahama.
Bermuda. |
| 3. Massachusetts, II. | 11. Barbadoes. |
| 4. Maryland. | 12. New York. |
| 5. Virginia. | New Jersey. |
| 6. Virginia. | Rhode Island. |
| 7. Virginia. | New Hampshire. |
| 8. Leeward Islands. | 13. South Carolina, Nos. 1-230. |
| 9. Jamaica. | 14. South Carolina, Nos. 231-300. |
| 10. New Foundland. | North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. |

2. "Letters of Orders" (1606-1756): Certificates, recommendations, appointments, testimonials, names of persons concerned, and personal letters.

3. "Missions to American Churches and West Indian Islands." This collection consists of certificates, appointments, recommendations, memorials, extracts from minutes of the meetings of the S. P. G., and matters relating to Moravian converts.

4. "Letters about Colonial Churches." Here we have letters to the Bishop of London in regard to the affairs in the Churches in the Colonies. The bulk of the letters, however, must be looked for in the first classification, under the separate colonies.

5. "Missionary Bonds." This is a very useful calendar of the bonds which missionaries sent to the American colonies executed on receiving their royal bounty for their expenses. Here we have the most complete listing of the American missionaries; and this collection formed the basis of Fothergill's *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America* (London, 1904).

6. "Applications for Work." Here are selected items with regard to the American material.

7. "Applications for Licenses." In this collection are recommendations, certificates, appointments, and testimonials relating to the different missionaries.

All transcripts in the possession of the Library of Congress are available for the use of accredited students. Under certain regulations, they may be obtained by inter-library loan.

II.

LAMBETH PALACE MANUSCRIPTS.

Pages 287-301 of the Andrews and Davenport *Guide* (*supra*) furnish a list of documents in the Library of the Archbishop of Canterbury which bear on the American colonies; many of them are concerned with ecclesiastical affairs. The Hawks Transcripts include a goodly number of them; and the Library of Congress has transcripts for most of them. In volume they do not compare with the Fulham and S. P. G. documents, so far as the colonial Church is affected; and they present a less systematic survey of the field. But there is much of indispensable value.

The transcripts and facsimiles of the Lambeth Palace manuscripts, in the Library of Congress, are grouped as follows:—

1. Minutes of S. P. G. meeting of June 19, 1706.
2. Memorial of Thomas Bray, relating to the libraries sent to America.
3. Request from Queen Anne for a collection for the S. P. G.

4. Letter from the Church in New York (Trinity) to Archbishop Tenison.
5. Address in behalf of Mr. Honyman of Rhode Island.

III.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

In the Andrews and Davenport *Guide*, pages 7-169, a great many manuscripts relating to the American colonies, now in possession of the British Museum, are listed. It will be seen that only a small proportion deal with the Church. The writer is glad to report, however, that Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, was able to furnish him with transcripts of all enumerated manuscripts which seemed relevant. Some of them proved of tremendous importance.

IV.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

A good deal of Church material is preserved at Oxford, in the Bodleian Library. Pages 374-421 of that most helpful *Guide* of Andrews and Davenport list the American documents; and here again the Library of Congress has anticipated our desires. Transcripts, labelled "Tanner," "Rawlinson," and "Clarendon," are accessible to the student at Washington.

The Library of Congress transcripts of Bodleian Library manuscripts, pertaining to the colonial Church, are grouped as follows:—

A. *Rawlinson Manuscripts.*

1. Letter from the Bishop of London to the clergy of New England.

2. Petition from Philadelphia to George I. for money for repairs of Churches.

3. "An act for dividing this island into parishes, and maintenance of ministers, the poor, and erecting and repairing churches." Antigua, 1701.

4. Papers relating to the S. P. G. in New England.

5. Bond of John Span to serve as chaplain in Virginia: Joseph Cleator as schoolmaster in Rye, N. Y.

B. Tanner Manuscripts.

1. Patent drawn by Charles II. for the erection of Virginia into a bishopric, with cathedral see at Jamestown.

2. Petition for a clergyman at Calvert Town, Maryland.

3. Letter from Boston about the Church at Boston.

V.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

By far the most fruitful field of operations is the manuscript collection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This mainly consists of reports and letters of the Society's missionaries and foreign correspondents, and the Journals of the Society, dating from 1701.

Of these the Library of Congress has collected, by transcripts, photofilm enlargements, and photostats, the following groups:—

1. Series A (Transcripts). Twenty-six volumes of contemporary copies from 1701 to 1736. This material relates to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Massachusetts, South Carolina, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Virginia, Connecticut, Maryland, New Hampshire, Maine, the British West Indies, Canada, Newfoundland, England, Holland, Switzerland, Ireland, and Germany.

Although each volume contains material from almost every one of the individual colonies, still the dates are important; and it may be valuable to the student to give an enumeration of the several volumes.

SERIES A. (The A Manuscripts.)

Vol. 1	1702-1704	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., S. C., Newfoundland, England, Jamaica.
Vol. 2	1703-1706	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., N. C., S. C., Newfoundland, England, Ireland, Jamaica.
Vol. 3	1706-1708	N. Y., N. J., Mass., R. I., Pa., N. C., S. C., Va., Newfoundland, Bermudas, England, Ireland.
Vol. 4	1707-1709	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Md., N. C., S. C., Mass., Bermudas, England, Ireland.
Vol. 5	1706-1710	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Conn., R. I., N. C., S. C., Va., England, Newfoundland.
Vol. 6	1706 1710-1712	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Md., Mass., R. I., N. C., S. C., Barbados, England, Ireland, Newfoundland.
Vol. 7	1662 1693-1713	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Md., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. H., N. C., S. C., Va., Newfoundland, Barbados, Jamaica, England.
Vol. 8	1709-1714	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Md., Del., Mass., Conn., Va., S. C., England.
Vol. 9	1713-1715	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Md., Del., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., St. Kitts.
Vol. 10	1708-1715	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Md., Conn., N. C., S. C., St. Kitts.
Vol. 11	1709-1715 1716	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., N. C., S. C., Va., England, Germany, Holland.
Vol. 12	1700-1718	N. Y., N. J., Maine, Mass., R. I., Pa., Del., Conn., N. C., S. C., England, Ireland, Germany.
Vol. 13	1712-1719	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Md., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., England, Ireland, Germany, Switzerland.
Vol. 14	1719-1721	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., N. H., Conn., N. C., S. C., Va., England.
Vol. 15	1720-1722	N. Y., N. J., Md., Del., Mass., R. I., N. C., S. C.
Vol. 16	1630 1719-1723	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., England.

Vol. 17	1688 1700-1724	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., Eng.
Vol. 18	1723-1725	N. Y., N. J., Del., Md., Mass., R. I., N. C., S. C.
Vol. 19	1715-1717 1724-1727 1730	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., N. C., S. C., Conn., England, Holland, Switzerland.
Vol. 20	1704-1728	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., Conn., R. I., S. C., England.
Vol. 21	1715-1729	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Md., Mass., R. I., S. C., Conn.
Vol. 22	1728-1731	N. Y., N. J., Md., Mass., Del., R. I., Conn., Va., S. C., Newfoundland.
Vol. 23	1695 1697-1698 1726-1732	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Md., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., Va., Ga., Antigua, Barbados, Newfoundland, England.
Vol. 24	1731-1735	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., Va., Ga., Antigua, Barbados, Newfoundland, England.
Vol. 25	1734-1735	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Md., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., Va., Newfoundland, England, Ireland.
Vol. 26	1693 1731-1737	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., Va., Ga., Newfoundland, Barbados, St. Kitts, England.

Note.—The three lower counties of Pennsylvania—Kent, Newcastle and Sussex—are here listed as Delaware. Kittery, New England, is listed as Maine.

2. Series B (Transcripts). Twenty-five volumes of originals, from 1701 to 1786. This material relates to the thirteen colonies, the British West Indies, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, the Indians, and the persecution of Loyalists.

SERIES B. (The B Manuscripts.)

Vol. 1, Part 1	1725-1733	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del.
Part 2	1661-1788	N. Y., N. J., Mass., Pa., Del., R. I., Conn., Md., N. C., S. C., Va., Ga., Jamaica, Bahamas, Newfoundland, Holland.
Vol. 2, Parts 1-2	1752-1782	N. Y. (Indians), Conn., Lower Canada, Persecution of Loyalists.
Vol. 3, Parts 1-2	1759-1782	N. Y., Conn., N. H., Pa., Del.

Vol. 4, Parts 1-2		N. C., S. C., Barbados, Enumeration of the Cherokee Nation.
Vol. 5	1759-1774	N. C., S. C., Nova Scotia.
Vol. 6, Part 1	1761-1779 1729-1779	Bahamas, Barbados.
Part 2	1759-1786 1721-1785	Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Conn., Pa. Pa., Del.
Vol. 7, Part 1	1738-1739	Mass., R. I., Conn., N. H., N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Md., N. C., S. C., Newfoundland, Bahamas, England.
Part 2	1739-1740	N. Y., N. J., Mass., R. I., Conn., Pa., Del., N. C., S. C., Ga., Bahamas, Bermuda.
Vol. 8	1739-1741	Barbados.
Vol. 9	1740-1741	Mass., R. I., Conn., N. H., N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Ga., N. C., S. C., Bahamas.
Vol. 10	1741-1743	Mass., R. I., Conn., N. Y., N. H., Pa., Va., N. C., S. C., Bahamas, Antigua, Jamaica, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia.
Vol. 11	1743	N. Y., N. J., Mass., N. H., R. I., Pa., Del., N. C., S. C., Bahamas.
Vol. 12	1743-1746	N. J., Md., Del., N. H., Mass., N. C., S. C., Ga., Va., Jamaica.
Vol. 13	1743-1746	N. Y., N. J., Mass., Conn., S. C., Ga., Va., Jamaica, Newfoundland, England.
Vol. 14	1746-1747	Mass., R. I., Conn., N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., S. C.
Vol. 15	1746-1747	N. Y., N. J., Mass., R. I., Pa., Del., Conn., N. H., N. C., S. C., Ga., Jamaica, New- foundland.
Vol. 16	1748	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., N. C., S. C., Ga.
Vol. 17	1749	N. J., Pa., Del., R. I., Conn., N. C., S. C., Ga., Nova Scotia, Bahamas, Barbados.
Vol. 18	1749-1750	N. Y., N. J., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. H., Pa., Del., Ga., Plan of a church at Augusta, S. C., Jamaica, Bahamas, Nova Scotia.
Vol. 19	1751	N. Y., N. J., Mass., N. H., Pa., Del., Md., Conn., N. C., S. C., Ga., Nova Scotia, Ire- land, Antigua.
Vol. 20	1752-1753	N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., Mass., R. I., Conn., N. H., N. C., S. C., Ga., Va., Bahamas, Newfoundland.

- Vol. 21, Parts 1-2 1756-1775 Pa., Del.
- Vol. 22 1775-1784 N. Y., Mass., Maine, R. I., Conn., N. H., N. S.
- Vol. 23 1760-1782 Conn. (Constant reference made to "*Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, by Hawks and Perry, 1863-1864. Letters printed in that work are not transcribed, but all errors and omissions are noted.)
- Vol. 24, Parts 1-2 1754-1782 New Jersey.
- Vol. 25, Parts 1-2 Nova Scotia.

3. The Journals of the Society. These are photofilm enlargements (Volumes 1 to 8) and photostats (Volumes 9 to 24). They contain the proceedings of the Society and its committees, and embody full abstracts of the letters received.

4. Miscellaneous unbound documents. These are photofilm enlargements of correspondence and other documents relating to affairs in Connecticut, Florida, Delaware, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Virginia, Canada, the British West Indies, "Great Britain," United States Miscellaneous (Alabama, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Ohio, Wisconsin), and material about the College of William and Mary. The contents of these packages date from 1630 to 1862.

VI.

DR. BRAY'S ASSOCIATES.

The Library of Congress has acquired photofilm enlargements of considerable material relating to the work of the Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray, whose work in planting parochial lending libraries in the colonies has been one of the most far-reaching cultural influences in American history. The material is classified as follows:—

1. "Dr. Bray's Accounts." An account of benefactors and libraries sent to the plantations. 1695 to 1703.

2. "Bibliothecae Provinciales Americanae." This relates to Annapolis. New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Carolina, and the Bermudas.

3. "Minutes of the meetings of the Associates including abstracts of letters received from the plantations." Three volumes, 1729 to 1808.

4. "Catalogues of books for home and foreign libraries." 1735 to 1817.

5. Catalogue of parochial libraries; also "A catalogue of the parochial library at Manicantown, on James River in ——— Virginia."

6. Account book, including statements of salaries paid schoolmasters in plantations, charges of transportation of letters and books. 1700 to 1800.

7. Two packets of letters, labelled, "American Correspondence," being communications from New York, Pennsylvania, Maine, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland, Connecticut and Virginia.

The original manuscripts of the Associates of Dr. Bray are preserved in the building of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in the custody of the Secretary of the Association. A more detailed account of this material may be found on pages 334-335 of the Andrews and Davenport Guide.

VII.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

Looking for specific Church items among the vast records of the Public Record Office requires much patience, because there is no adequate topical index and one must be prepared to turn hundreds of pages of correspondence without finding a single reference to religious affairs in the colonies. A good deal of assistance is afforded by Dr. Charles M. Andrews's *Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the*

Public Record Office of Great Britain, Volume I., The State Papers, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1912. The Stevens Catalogue, in the Library of Congress, is usually adequate for locating manuscript letters and documents, provided one knows the name of the writers.

Much of the Public Record Office material has been transcribed for the Library of Congress; and more is being added. Though the Church is seldom mentioned in the state papers, except when its interests and activities are brought to the attention of the political and military authorities, there are innumerable documents directly bearing on its history, which the thorough investigator cannot omit.

CONCLUSION.

All transcripts and photostats in the Library of Congress are complete reproductions of the letters and documents in question: endorsements, addresses, and paging have been meticulously preserved. Not all the contents of the S. P. G. archives have been transcribed; but most of the material pertaining to the American colonies may be consulted in the Library of Congress transcripts and photostats.

LETTER OF THE REV. JAMES OGILVIE TO COLONEL JOHN WALKER OF BELVOIR,
VIRGINIA, APRIL 26, 1771.

With Notes by G. MacLaren Brydon.

The following letter of Rev. James Ogilvie is of interest as giving the experience of a young man going from Virginia to England for ordination in 1771.

Judging by the evidence of the letter itself, Mr. Ogilvie was a native of Scotland and presumably a graduate of one of the Scottish Universities. He had come to Virginia, securing possibly the position of tutor in some family in Albemarle County, and returned to England for ordination as can be inferred from the letter, in 1770. He was ordained in 1771 and on September 22, 1771, was licensed by the Bishop of London for service in Virginia, receiving on October 5 the King's Bounty, a grant of twenty pounds to pay the expenses of the voyage. He was licensed for Hampshire Parish in Hampshire County, Va. (now in West Virginia), though there is no evidence whatever of his having ever served this Parish. Under the law of that period a candidate coming from Virginia to England for ordination was required to bring as his Title to Orders a certificate from the Vestry of some Parish that they would be willing to receive him as their Minister after his ordination.

A number of instances of the granting of such Titles to Orders appear in Parish Vestry Books of the Colonial period, and usually contain the statement that the said Vestry would receive the newly ordained Minister upon his return provided the Par-

ish was then vacant and provided further that he should at that time prove acceptable to the Vestry.*

Owing to the fragmentary character of the Virginia Church records of the period very little further is known of Mr. Ogilvie. He appears as Minister of Westover Parish in Charles City County, Va., in 1776 and had evidently held the charge for several years. The Parish Vestry Book has disappeared and there is no record to show the length of his pastorate or what later became of him. In common with the majority of the clergy in Virginia he was loyal to the American cause in the Revolution. His active interest is shown by the fact that he was elected by the freeholders of his county as a member of the County Committee of Safety in 1774.

The letter has remained among the Walker family papers and has recently been given by a descendant of Colonel John Walker, Miss Evelyn Page Meriwether of Richmond, to the Virginia Diocesan Library.

**Vide* the following record of the Vestry of Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg County, Va., June 7, 1757. "Mr. Barclay intimating to this Vestry that he intended soon to leave this Parish and at the same time requesting the favour of this Vestry to give a Title to Mr. James Craig, a Student in Divinity, and to recommend him to the Rev. and Hon. Mr. Commissary Dawson as a person they are informed very well qualified to receive Holy Orders into which he is desirous to enter; do unanimously agree to the above motion; and do hereby empower the Church Wardens to give a Title and recommendation to Mr. James Craig upon his entering into Bond with proper securities that he shall not by virtue of the Title insist upon being Minister of this Parish if he shall not be found agreeable to the Gentlemen of the Vestry and Parishioners after tryal." (*Cumberland Parish*, by Landon C. Bell, page 356.) Mr. Craig became the minister of the Parish in 1759 and held the charge until his death in 1795.

To

John Walker Esq^r of Belvoir¹
Albemarle County
Virginia

My dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I have at last got ordained independent of the Commissary² by the Bishop of Durham. Horrocks however by his letter has cost me an infinite deal of trouble as well as expense.

As I was ordained a Deacon to a Curacy in Berwick which I was forced to accept in order to my procuring Orders I am obliged to remain sometime longer in England before I can return to Virg^a Next Sept^r I shall receive the Order of Priest.

Were not my connections in your Colony of so interesting a nature as to prevent my having the least inclination to forsake those who have been most firmly attached to my welfare at a time when nothing but motives of generosity or the warmest affection could prompt them, I might by remaining in England have my ambition gratified beyond what I ever expected. I have been introduced to the Archbishop of York by his Br the Earl of Kinnoul who are both (I have reason to believe) disposed to serve me. The Bishop of Durham (whose chaplain is strongly attached to me and my brother) has treated me with particular marks (I may say) of regard. I was the only one out of fourteen or fifteen Gentlemen at that time at his table whom he introduced to the Bishop of Lincoln and his Chancellor, and a discourse which I wrote at his Chaplain's desire, he was so much pleased with as to read himself at table to his Company. He seated me next himself at dinner approved publicly of my performance though of none of the other candidates he took such notice and showed me several

¹Colonel John Walker, of Belvoir, an aide on the Staff of General Washington during the Revolution, and U. S. Senator from Virginia in 1790.

²Commissary James Horrocks, M. A. (Cambridge), President of the College of William and Mary 1764-1771 and Commissary of the Bishop of London 1768-1771.

other marks of favour which you would ascribe to vanity were I to repeat at this distance. These circumstances which to another might appear the marks of a mind full of self-approbation will I know to you bring satisfaction as a freind.

Accept D^r Sir my warmest acknowledgments as one who lies under the weight of obligations he will never forget and who begs to retain a place in your memory. I offer my most respectful and affect^{ts} compts to Mrs. Walker your much esteemed Father³ & Mother & all his family. Remember me to your little darling⁴ with a kiss and to the doctor and your B^r with the kindest regard. M^r Jefferson⁵ I write to now. I have never heard from Virginia since I left it except one letter dated last Nov^r from my amiable freind Miss St——n. Yet though I have been so unlucky as never to receive any token of your remembrance I shall never suppose that a freindship so generously founded as yours and M^r Jefferson's is already decayed.

Pray tell my Cousin Tom who I hear lives with you and is to be married in the fall to Miss M. Maury,⁶ (this I had from his sister's letter) that he and his interests are very dear to me; not on his sister's acc^t only but his own. Berwick's remoteness from every place of trade wth Virg^a prevents my writing frequently, but if you & my Cousin Tom will fav^r me with a line under cover of my F^r at Aberdeen it would

³Dr. Thomas Walker, first explorer of Kentucky and Tennessee, Indian Commissioner, member of the House of Burgesses, member Council of State of Virginia in 1777.

⁴Mildred Walker, daughter of John Walker, of Belvoir, born August 1, 1765, married Francis Kinloch, of Charleston, S. C., and was an ancestress of Rt. Rev. Cleland Kinloch Nelson, D. D., Bishop of Georgia.

⁵Thomas Jefferson.

⁶Miss M. Maury was a daughter of Rev. James Maury and sister of Rev. Matthew Maury, both in turn ministers of Fredericksville Parish, Albemarle County, covering the period from 1751 until 1808. Dr. Walker's residence, Castle Hill, Colonel John Walker's, Belvoir, and Mr. Jefferson's earlier home, Shadwell, were all in this parish. Mr. Jefferson's later home, Monticello, was across the parish line in St. Anne's Parish.

give me the sincerest joy. As soon as I am fully in Orders
I shall see you. With the warmest esteem & gratitude

My dear Freind
your very affectionate
& much obliged
Ja^s Ogilvie

Berwick upon Tweed
April 26 1771

I forgot to tell you that the Archbishop of York informed me that the B^p of Londⁿ was to write the Commissary that unless he specified the particular objections he may have to a candidate he will pay no regard to any general accusation.

THE EDITORS are delighted to have a word of cheer from the Reverend Samuel D. McConnell, the well-known author of the *History of the American Episcopal Church*. Under date of January 13, 1932, he writes:

"I am glad to learn of the projected Historical Magazine.
"The history of the Church is very little known by the people—though its history is really its *raison d'être* as an organization. If you can create an interest in its current history it will lead to a better understanding of its past, and of its right to exist.

"Wishing it good luck,

"Yours sincerely,

S. D. McCONNELL.

HISTORICAL NEWS.

Christ Church, the mother church of Christ-Church parish, Virginia, has been restored to its original lines. The present church dates back to 1714 and stands on the site of an even earlier building. The restoration follows the plans and specifications found in the old vestry book.

St. Andrew's Church, Hanover, Mass., has celebrated its 200th anniversary, the first church having been erected in 1731. The anniversary sermon was preached by Bishop William Lawrence. Among the rectors of St. Andrew's were Samuel Parker (1780-83), later Bishop of Massachusetts, and Benjamin Bosworth Smith (later Bishop of Kentucky and Presiding Bishop from 1868 to 1884). The church has the original pewter Communion Service and a very old English Bible, together with a carved box in which it came from England.

On October 15th last the three hundredth anniversary of the first Christian service in Maryland was held at Camp Wright on Kent Island. The Bishops of Easton, Washington and Delaware participated in the service which was followed by an historical pageant depicting the story of the Church of England on the Isle of Kent, beginning with the first service at William Claiborne's trading post and including the consecration of Thomas John Claggett, first Bishop of Maryland and the first Bishop of this Church consecrated in the United States.

Gambier, O.—On the eve of All Saints' Day, 1931, at a rural spot in Holmes County, Ohio, a bronze tablet was unveiled carrying the following inscription written by the Rev.

Dr. George F. Smythe, historian of Kenyon College and of the Diocese of Ohio:

This Place was named
The Valley of Peace
by
Philander Chase
First Bishop of the
Protestant Episcopal
Church in Ohio and
Founder of
Kenyon College
who with his family
lived here in a log cabin
through the severe
winter of 1831-1832

The bronze tablet is affixed to a large granite boulder which has been placed on the site of the log cabin. About 100 people from Gambier, Mt. Vernon and vicinity were present at the ceremony. President William F. Peirce, of Kenyon College, summarized the train of events leading to the final scene one hundred years ago in Bishop Chase's association with Kenyon College and the Diocese of Ohio, saying that after an unhappy controversy the case between the Bishop and the faculty of the college was laid before the Ohio Diocesan Convention, which body, meeting on Sept. 7, 1831, voted to sustain the faculty. On Sept. 9, 1831, Bishop Chase resigned the presidency of Kenyon College and the episcopate of Ohio. On the day following his resignation was accepted. Leaving Gambier never to return, Philander Chase took his family to a ruinous log cabin on property owned by his niece, Sarah Russell, in Holmes County, Ohio. Repairing this rude shelter as best he could, he named the spot "The Valley of Peace", and lived on the property until the spring of 1832, when he purchased a farm at Gilead, Mich.

St. Luke's parish, Minneapolis, celebrated its twentieth anniversary in a series of services held from December 6 to 13 last. The parish was founded by Bishop Remington during his rectorship of St. Paul's, Minneapolis.

The trowel used by General George Washington when he laid the cornerstone of the National Capitol was used at the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of a Vestry House of old Pohick Church, Virginia, on November 20th last. General Washington was a vestryman of the parish for twenty-three years.

St. John's Church, Lansdowne, Pa., observed the fiftieth anniversary of its founding on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist last. It began in an upper room in 1881. Five years later the Rev. William T. Manning, now Bishop of New York, took charge of the work. The cornerstone of the church was laid by Bishop Whitaker on October 6, 1900, and it was consecrated by Bishop Rhinelander on December 1, 1918. The anniversary sermon was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Charles E. Tuke, rector of the parish.

PERSONALS.

The Rt. Rev. Lemuel H. Wells, retired Bishop of Spokane, celebrated his ninetieth birthday on December 3 last. He was born in Yonkers in 1841 and served in the Civil War for three years. Ordained in 1869, he was consecrated Missionary Bishop on December 16, 1892, and retired in 1913. In point of years Dr. Wells is the oldest Bishop in this Church.

The Rev. William Clark Knowles, minister in charge of St. James', Ponsett, Conn., is nearly ninety-two years of age, having been born March 23, 1840. His period of service as lay reader, deacon and priest is seventy years. He has been in his present parish for an unbroken period of over fifty-five years.

The Rev. Frederick Grandy Budlong, rector of Christ Church, Greenwich, Conn., was consecrated Bishop-Coadjutor of Connecticut in his parish church on December 16, 1931. He will reside at New Haven.

The Rev. Gilbert Rumsey Underhill celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood on December 13 last. He is rector-emeritus of St. Mark's, Hammonton, N. J., and retired from active service in 1921. The Rt. Rev. Paul Matthews, Bishop of New Jersey, officiated at the celebration.

The Rev. Frederick Bethune Bartlett, Field Secretary of the National Council, was consecrated Missionary Bishop of North Dakota in the Cathedral at Fargo on December 16.

Bishop Anson R. Graves died at his home in California on December 31, at the age of eighty-nine. With the excep-

tion of three years his entire ministry was spent in the West. In 1890 he was consecrated Missionary Bishop of The Platte and retired in 1910. He was the author of *The Farmer Boy Who Became a Bishop* and other works. He ranked second in seniority in the House of Bishops.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Herman Page recently celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his ordination with a service in St. John's Church, Detroit. He was ordered Deacon in 1891 by Bishop Thomas March Clark and advanced to the priesthood the following year by Bishop Ethelbert Talbot. He is chairman of the Joint Commission of the General Convention on Marriage and Divorce.

The tenth anniversary of the consecration of Dr. John C. Ward, Bishop of Erie, was observed by a service in St. Paul's Cathedral, Erie, Pa., on October 29 last. The sermon was preached by the Presiding Bishop. Bishop Ward served as a chaplain in the World War and was awarded the British Military Cross.

REVIEWS.

CHARLES LEWIS SLATTERY. *By Howard Chandler Robbins.* Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York and London. MCMXXXI.

The active ministry of Charles Lewis Slattery covered a period of thirty-six years. It began by combining teaching at Groton School with the pastoral charge of the little church at Ayer; passed on to eleven fruitful years at Faribault, Minnesota, with some teaching at the Seabury Divinity School. Then came three years at Springfield, Mass., and from thence to the large ministry of twelve years at Grace Church, in the metropolitan city of New York. The last eight crowded years were given to the Diocese of Massachusetts, first as Coadjutor and then as Diocesan.

With unerring skill Dr. Robbins has sketched the background and traced the development of one who first and foremost was a parish priest, endowed with rare gifts for pastoral work. Though born in Pittsburgh, Dr. Slattery's background was New England, and he never lost either the fine austerity of the Puritan strain, nor the habit of plain living and high thinking learned in a clerical family brought up on a stipend of six hundred dollars a year. That Puritan strain was tempered and broadened by the school days spent in Colorado and a brilliant career at Harvard, followed by three moulding years at the Cambridge Episcopal Theological School, where he fell under the spell of Phillips Brooks. Looking back on those care-free days at Cambridge, he wrote in after years of the "sacred moments when I sat with hundreds of others and heard him (Brooks) preach".

It is the unfolding of the story of this ministry which Professor Robbins has so charmingly developed in this Biography. It is like an impressionistic picture. A deft stroke here and there and the completed portrait stands out with alluring and arresting clearness. Here is Slattery—preacher, artist, poet, writer, correspondent, teacher, liturgist, pastor and administrator, and with a genius for friendship. Chaste in diction, perfect in proportion, this Biography comes near to being a classic.

There is no fulsome adulation. The weakness inseparable from human nature is not concealed, neither is it over-emphasized. The man is pictured just as he was—kindly, courteous, quick in judgment, occasionally a little impatient, a man of strong conviction, but ever tolerant of the opinions of others. Giving of his best to his friends and in turn exacting toll from them. Perhaps the supreme value of this Biography is that the author has brought out so clearly the fact that at least one man, rector of a large parish, active in

the general work of the Church, an incessant reader and prolific writer, could and did demonstrate the truth that pastoral work is both a possibility and a power in these modern days. This Life should be used as a text book on Pastoral Theology in all our Seminaries.

One suggestion may be ventured. It is well known that Dr. Slatery revelled in writing letters. This Biography should be followed by the publication of a selection from those Letters. They cover a very interesting period in the life of this Church and would be of untold value as a contribution to our contemporary history.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

A HISTORY OF GRACE CHURCH IN PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1829-1929. *By Henry Barrett Huntington, Together With An Inventory of Memorial and Funds Compiled by John Hutchins Cady.* Privately printed. Providence, R. I., 1931. Pp. 237.

In the year 1929 Grace Church, Providence, celebrated its centennial and it was a happy thought of the authorities to mark that event by the publication of a Parish History. The more so because Grace Church has been for many years and still is one of the outstanding parishes of New England. From small beginnings it has gone from strength to strength. It was founded to meet new conditions when Providence merged from a sleepy seaport to an important manufacturing center.

The story of its growth is well and clearly told in this volume. Many factors have contributed to its development, conspicuous among them being the devotion of its laymen and women and the outstanding ability of its succession of rectors. When John Alonzo Clark began his ministry there the number of communicants was set down at thirty or thirty-five. Mr. Clark was a powerful evangelical preacher and the number of communicants increased by leaps and bounds. Then came a succession of remarkable men. At the age of twenty-eight, Alexander Hamilton Vinton, one of the greatest preachers the American Church has known, came to Grace Church, and was followed in turn by Bishop J. P. K. Henshaw, who became Bishop of Rhode Island after the death of Bishop Griswold and the dissolution of the Eastern Diocese. His successor in the episcopate of Rhode Island and as rector of Grace Church was Thomas March Clark, who served for twelve years.

In 1872, at the age of twenty-six, David Hummell Greer became rector and ministered for nearly sixteen years. They were years of that remarkable spiritual and intellectual development which made Dr. Greer one of the outstanding leaders of thought in the United States and paved the way for his memorable ministry in New York

and his notable episcopate in succession to Henry Codman Potter. It was men such as these who made Grace Church a power, not only in Providence, but far beyond it. And their successors were like-minded. One could only wish that more space could have been given to their teaching which went far to make the parish a recognized center of the newer evangelicalism tempered by modern thought.

The author has handled his material with skill and discrimination and has made a real contribution to the history of the American Church. For the purposes of record one or two inadvertent errors should be noted and corrected. On page 20 the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, rector of St. Andrew's, Philadelphia, is spoken of as "later Bishop of Ohio". The striking similarity of names makes this error quite pardonable. Dr. Bedell, of Philadelphia, died in 1834. It was his son, Gregory Thurston Bedell, who became Bishop of Ohio at a much later period. In a footnote to page 37 it is stated that the Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton "for many years was the distinguished rector of Trinity Church, New York". It should read "an assistant minister", not rector. These corrections should be noted in any future edition as well as one or two typographical errors.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

THE STORY OF ST. MARY'S, THE SOCIETY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, THE VIRGIN, NEW YORK CITY, 1868-1931. *Edited by Newbury Frost Read, Secretary of the Trustees.* New York. Published for the Board of Trustees. 1931. Pp. 281.

This excellently printed and adequately illustrated volume sets forth in detail the varying experiences of a parish which was founded as a venture of faith, and after years of struggle has come to be looked upon as the best exemplar of Catholic teaching and ceremonial in the American Church. The record, in the main, is a paraphrase of the minutes of the meetings of the trustees, for St. Mary's is one of the few parishes which is governed by a board of trustees instead of by a rector, wardens and vestry. This method of writing history has the disadvantage of over-emphasis on details of administration, and in this particular case especially over-emphasis on the financial concerns of the parish. On the other hand, it is of great value in recording the remarkable pastoral work of the sainted Thomas McKee Brown, who founded the parish at the age of twenty-six, and laid the foundations of its fine traditions; and in its tribute to the preaching and devotional writings of Dr. Barry, who so recently passed to his rest and who, before his death, found opportunity to write a charming foreword, "After Twenty Years", which adorns this book. Of equal value is the tribute paid to the work of a devoted succession of laymen—notably Beverly Chew and Haley Fiske—who gave freely of time, money and effort to the parish.

Yet one cannot escape the feeling, in reading this book, that a great opportunity has been missed. St. Mary the Virgin was not the first parish to exemplify Catholic ceremonial. It was preceded by three years in this respect by St. Alban's Church in New York City, which was opened in 1865 with a daily mass and daily choir offices, the rector, the Rev. Charles William Morrill, being justly described as "the first priest in this country to come out boldly with full Catholic ceremonial". But St. Alban's was short lived, and St. Mary the Virgin was the first parish to assert the claim of the newer Catholics like James De Koven and Ferdinand C. Ewer to a rightful place in the American Church. Thomas McKee Brown threw down the gauntlet. He made no secret of his purpose, which was to establish a parish where "vestments, lights, incense, the sign of the Cross were reclaimed in a simple, straightforward manner as part of the unalienated inheritance of the Anglican Church". That he was able to accomplish this purpose was due in part to his own sincerity and partly to the broad-minded attitude of Henry Codman Potter, when Bishop of the Diocese of New York. Father Brown blazed the trail, and there quickly followed the establishment of the parish of St. Ignatius for Ferdinand C. Ewer. The real history of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin is the history of what in these modern days we have come to designate as "Anglo-Catholicism". There is a hint in this volume that another history of the parish may appear at the seventy-fifth anniversary of this church. At that time the story of the parish should be the unfolding of the Anglo-Catholic Movement in the American Church, for St. Mary's was the outward and visible expression of that movement.

There is one almost inexplicable omission in this story—the account of the difficulties St. Mary's encountered in its application to be received into union with the Convention of the Diocese of New York. The facts are set forth in the Convention Journals of that period. The principle involved was so vital that some mention of it should have been made in the history of the parish.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(Magazines and Pamphlets.)

EARLY DAYS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN TEXAS. *By Du-Bose Murphy.* Southwestern Historical Quarterly (published by The Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Texas). Vol. 34, No. 4, April, 1931. Pp. 293-316.

Here we have a very interesting account of the beginning of the Episcopal Church services in Texas. On Christmas morning, 1838, eight men and women knelt before an improvised altar in a school room in Matagorda, where the Rev. Caleb S. Ives, of Mobile, recently appointed missionary to Texas, celebrated the Holy Communion. The following month the congregation of Christ Church, Matagorda, organized itself as the first Episcopal parish in Texas. Two years before, the Rev. Richard Salmon, with several families and friends, left Syracuse, N. Y., and settled within the Texas boundary; but bad health prevented regular church services, although he performed a few marriages and many burials in 1836-1837.

Mr. Ives remained in Texas for ten years. Texas was not a part of the United States until seven years after Mr. Ives arrived. But the Board of Missions responded to his appeals for help; and the new Matagorda Church was ready for services Easter, 1841. The work spread in the surrounding district. Christ Church, Houston, was formally organized in 1839, under the Rev. R. M. Chapman, of New York. Mr. Chapman remained only a short time, and there were many discouraging circumstances, particularly a severe epidemic, which impeded the progress of the pioneer work. A brick church was finally erected and was ready for consecration in 1847, thanks to the efforts of the Rev. Charles Gillette.

Mr. Chapman had made a beginning in Galveston late in 1838, and Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, visited that town the following year. In 1840 Trinity Parish was organized there by the Rev. Henry B. Goodwin, of Maryland; but active work dates from the arrival of the Rev. Benjamin Eaton, who solicited funds in New York and Charleston for the Galveston Church. Three months after the new edifice was opened for worship, a hurricane destroyed the building; seven months afterwards a "stronger, more commodious, and more beautiful" church was ready for services. This second building was consecrated by Bishop Polk in 1844.

So promising was the field that the House of Bishops at the General Convention of 1841 favored the election of a Bishop for the Republic of Texas. It was not till 1844, however, that a bishop was

consecrated for that vast territory, the Rev. George Washington Freeman, rector of Emmanuel Church, Newcastle, Del., who gave fifteen years of arduous work to this district.

EDGAR L. PENNINGTON.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA WAR IN 1715, AS SEEN BY THE CLERGYMEN. *By Edgar Legare Pennington.* The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, Vol. 32, October, 1931. No. 4, Pp. 251-269.

An admirable account of this war as viewed by the Church of England clergy in South Carolina. The author has drawn his source material from hitherto unpublished documents in the custody of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the archives of Fulham Palace, transcripts of which are now in the Library of Congress.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN VIRGINIA AND THE REVOLUTION. *By G. MacLaren Brydon, D. D., Historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia.* The Virginia Diocesan Library, 110 West Franklin Street, Richmond, Va. 1930.

This is a review of Gewehr's *The Great Awakening*, reprinted from the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. It forcefully challenges the traditional aspersions on the character and disloyalty of the Virginia clergy.

THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH IN VIRGINIA. *By E. Clowes Chorley, D. D.* William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, Vol. 10, Second Series. July, 1930. No. 3. Pp. 191-213.
Some account of the beginnings of the Church in Virginia.

THE BI-CENTENNIAL OF THE PARISH OF NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. 1731-1931. St. Thomas' Church.

A brief account of the founding of the parish.

TWO ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT A SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING TO ALMIGHTY GOD FOR THE LIFE AND WORK OF JOHN HENRY HOBART, THIRD BISHOP OF NEW YORK AND SEVENTH RECTOR OF THE PARISH OF TRINITY CHURCH, OBIT 1830 A. D. Trinity Church, New York, Wednesday, October 22, 1930.

The address by the Rt. Rev. Bishop William T. Manning, Bishop of New York, and a commemorative sermon by the Rev. E. Clowes Chorley, D. D., Historiographer of the Diocese and of the Church, on the occasion of the centennial of the death of Bishop Hobart.

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS. 1855-1930. Trinity Chapel, Trinity Parish, New York. Pp. 29.

These are the three sermons preached on the occasion of the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the consecration of Trinity Chapel. The preachers were the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson Sutton, vicar of the chapel; the Bishop of New York, and the Rev. Dr. Caleb R. Stetson, rector of Trinity Parish. They embody valuable historical data.

FOR OUR TIMES. Sermon Delivered by Donald Bradshaw Aldrich at the Church of the Ascension, Fifth Avenue at Tenth Street, on the Occasion of the Dedication of a New Organ, December 13, 1931. Pp. 20.

Contains an interesting sketch of the founding of the Church of the Ascension in 1827 and its subsequent growth and development.

THE STORY OF THE PENSION FUND RETOLD FOR A NEW GENERATION. *By Bishop Lawrence.* 1931. Pp. 23.

A clear statement of the origin of the Pension Fund told by its prime mover.

RELIGION AND ART.

Two pamphlets. The first containing the order of divine service, with musical settings, held in St. John's Cathedral, Denver, September 22, 1931, and planned by the Church Art Commission of the Diocese of Colorado. The second is the sermon delivered on that occasion by the Rev. Howard Chandler Robbins, D. D., of New York.

QUERIES.

(Replies to Be Sent to the Editor.)

Information is sought as to where in Maryland the Rev. Basil Prather was stationed. Was it Rockville? Mr. Prather is supposed to have come from England about 1732. (Miss Ruth G. Jacobs, 1022 Locust Street, Jeffersonville, Ind.)

Information is asked concerning the Rev. Joseph Willard. It is known that he owned real estate in Virginia and is thought to have been resident for a time in New York City. (John S. Rossell, Security Trust Co., Wilmington, Del.)

Mr. Robert H. Symonds seeks information concerning living descendants of the Rev. Davenport Phelps, who was a frontier missionary in the western part of the State of New York in the early part of the nineteenth century. (Robert H. Symonds, Warehouse Point, Conn.)

The Editor would like to know in which parish in the United States the daily celebration of the Holy Communion was first permanently established.

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NOTICES

All communications, including manuscripts and books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed to
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Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Volume I

JUNE, 1932

No. 2

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The editors are very grateful for the cordial welcome which has been accorded to the Magazine on its first appearance. Likewise for valuable suggestions for the future. It appears to be generally felt that the color of the cover is too "sombre". It has therefore been changed—we hope for the better.

Judging from some letters received, there is a feeling that the number of pages could be increased with advantage. With this sentiment the editors are in hearty accord. The problem is purely one of cost. At the present moment the income from subscriptions does not meet the cost of publication. That cost would be covered if we could obtain thirty additional annual subscriptions. With the aid, however, of a very modest advertising return, together with drawing to some extent on the guarantee fund, we are able to announce that for the remainder of this year the Magazine will be enlarged by sixteen pages.

This new venture has already demonstrated one or two significant and interesting facts. The first is that, far more than any of us realized, there are many serious workers in the field of the history of this Church. The correspondence along this line is very revealing. The second fact is that, hitherto, these men have been handicapped for lack of opportunity to make known the result of their research, and they are turning eagerly to this publication for such opportunity. By this means the result of research will be made available to church people generally and it will also be a stimulus to further study.

Reference was made in the first Number to the fact that there is much manuscript material available, but hitherto not accessible to students. This fact is illustrated in the current number of the Historical Magazine. The Letters of the Reverend Ebenezer Diblee form part of the Jarvis Papers which have recently come into possession of Professor Howard C. Robbins, of the General Theological Seminary. In a subsequent issue we hope to print a complete Bibliography of these Papers, which include a number of Bishop Seabury's letters written during his residence in London while he was seeking consecration at the hands of the English Bishops. They also include early minutes of the convention of the diocese of Connecticut which not only have never been printed, but the diocese itself did not know that they were in existence. In this connection attention is drawn to the article of Dr. Wyllis Rede, of Baltimore, outlining the extraordinary wealth of manuscript material contained in the Maryland Diocesan Library.

LETTERS OF THE REVEREND DOCTOR EBENEZER
DIBBLEE, OF STAMFORD, TO THE REVEREND
DOCTOR SAMUEL PETERS, LOYALIST
REFUGEE IN LONDON.

1784-1793.

(*With Introduction and Notes by the Editor.*)

The Reverend Ebenezer Dibblee,¹ D. D. (Columbia College, New York), rector of St. John's Church, Stamford, Connecticut,² is the writer of the following letters addressed to the Reverend Samuel Peters, who, at the time, was a loyalist refugee in London, England.

Mr. Dibblee, son of Wakefield Dibblee, of Danbury, Connecticut,³ was a graduate of Yale College, and appears to have officiated as a Congregational preacher at Danbury, and to have been among the number of Puritan ministers in the colony of Connecticut, who joined themselves to the Church of England. In this connection the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson makes mention of him in a letter written in 1746 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, "I have heretofore made mention of Messers Dibblee and Leaming⁴ to go for Orders".

On March 25th, 1747, the "Churchwardens of St. John's Church, in Stamford, Connecticut", addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Society, describing the difficulties under which they had labored. The church was so far finished "as to be fit for our assembling in it"; and they were prepared to pay twenty pounds sterling to a minister. They had assisted Mr.

¹The name is variously spelled "Dibble, Diblee and Dibblee".

²The first Church of England services at Stamford were conducted in 1705 by the Rev. George Muirson, rector of Rye, N. Y. Mr. Muirson was licensed by Lord Cornbury, Governor of the Province of New York, to minister in the towns of Greenwich and Stamford. In 1742 the town granted land on which to build an Episcopal Church, the cornerstone being laid in 1743, and first used for worship in 1747. (Jarvis. *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Connecticut*. New Haven, Conn. The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company. 1902. P. 83ff.)

³Wakefield Dibblee's will was proved May 2nd, 1734. In it he directs his executors to pay all "ye charges which do or may arise on ye education of his son Ebenezer, also £30 towards furnishing him with books, &c. (*Probate Records, Fairfield County, 1716-35*, p. 263.)

⁴Reverend Jeremiah Leaming.

Miner to go to England for Holy Orders, but he was taken prisoner by the French and died in England; they had likewise assisted Mr. Isaac Brown, who, after his ordination, disappointed them by settling at Brookhaven. They add:

"Since Mr. Miner's death, we have applied ourselves to Mr. Ebenezer Dibble, by the advice of the Rev. Mr. Caner and others. This gentleman has read prayers and sermons among us, to our very great satisfaction, for near a year and a half, and being willing to go home for holy orders, and return to us to be our minister, we have again exerted our utmost power to procure a glebe, subscribed for his support annually twenty pounds sterling, and do assist him further to defray the expense of his voyage. We have applied to the Reverend Clergy to represent our state, who all of them approve well of Mr. Dibble, and having given him testimonials to the Bishop of London, we earnestly hope he may obtain holy orders, and humbly entreat the Venerable Society to be their missionary to us, with such salary as they may think fit to allow, which we hope will contribute to the glory of God and to the salvation of many poor souls; and we, your poor petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray for the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, by the extensive charity of your venerable Society.

We are, Reverend Sir, your most obedient, &c.

THOMAS YOUNGS,
JOHN LLOYD,
Churchwardens.

And others.⁵

The petition was granted by the Society and Mr. Diblee was ordained, presumably in London, in 1748. On his arrival home he writes the following letter to the Society:

Stamford, November 14th, 1748.

"Reverend Sir,

I take this opportunity, the first that conveniently offers, to acquaint you that, by the blessing of God, Mr. Mansfield⁶ and I arrived safe and in good health, at New York, the 23rd of

⁵*Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.* CONNECTICUT. Francis L. Hawks, William Stevens Perry, Editors, New York: James Pott. 1863. Vol. 1, pp. 233-4.

⁶Reverend Richard Mansfield.

October, and to my mission at Stamford, on the 25th. My mind is impressed with a sense of the divine goodness to me in my voyage, through so many dangers as I have been happily preserved, and returned successfully to my family; and, I think it my duty to return my thanks to the venerable Society, for the expression of their favour and goodness in the reception I had from the honourable Board, and the charitable assistance afforded to the good and well disposed people who had so earnestly desired that I might be their minister, in the holy order, of the Church of England; and the Churchwardens and Vestry of St. John's Church, in Stamford, desire me to return their very sincere and hearty thanks to the Society for their favour to me, and the grant of their humble request, by admitting them into the number of the Churches under the honourable Society's charitable protection and assistance, and particularly for the library allowed their Church, and the pious tracts sent by me, to be dispersed for promoting religion and virtue among them; and 'tis a pleasure to me to acquaint the Society, that my people have every way manifested their great satisfaction and joy at my return to them, and I have reason to hope that, by God's blessing attending my honest endeavours, I may do much good among them, which I shall not fail to use my utmost application to effect, and pray God to give success. I have already preached at three distinct parts of my mission to pretty large congregations, have baptized two adult persons, one aged sixty-seven years, and the other above forty, and also five infants; have once administered the Lord's Supper at Stamford, had but 16 communicants, but expect more at Christmas. I hope I may be excused for not sending a *Notitia Parochialis* at this time, not being able as yet to give it in form * * * I only add my humble duty to your venerable Board, with the earnest prayers to almighty God, to give his blessing to all their charitable designs, and, with much respect, beg leave to subscribe, as I am sincerely and heartily,

Reverend Sir, your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

EBENEZER DIBLEE.⁷

⁷Hawks and Perry, Connecticut. Vol. 1, pp. 249-50.

Thus began a ministry at Stamford which lasted for the long period of fifty-one years and was ended only by death.

The character of that ministry may be gathered from a letter to the Society which reads as follows:

*Stamford in Connecticut,
September 29th, 1749.*

Reverend Sir,

I bless God that I have not laboured among them without some visible success in each of the places where I have performed divine service. I preach at Horse Neck the second Sunday in each month, about six miles from Stamford; have had some converts to the Church there, and the people have zealously exerted themselves to build a small chapel, of about thirty-six feet in length and twenty-five feet in breadth, to accommodate our assembly at these times, which they have enclosed and glazed, and if they could be favoured with a Bible and Common Prayer Book for that Church, it would be a very welcome present, their Churchwardens having humbly desired me to request the same. Greenwich being not above five miles from Stamford, I have only occasionally officiated there upon week days, except two Sundays the year past; and as they have no settled dissenting minister among them, they have invited me into their meeting-house, and the inhabitants of all sorts generally attend Church when I preach there; and at Stamford there is a very visible alteration in the temper and disposition of the dissenting party; in so much, that at sundry times when their meeting-house chanced to be destitute of a dissenting minister, our Church has been crowded by the attendance of Dissenters, and many of them cheerfully united in the services of our holy Church, which, together with the sundry converts already obtained, gives me great encouragement to hope, by the blessing of God, for abundant success in my ministry.⁸

About 1750 the church at Norwalk, together with that at Ridgefield, was raised by the Society to the status of a Mission. In April, 1751, Mr. Diblee reports to the S. P. G. preaching at Norwalk and giving of the Communion to upwards of sixty persons; likewise at Ridgefield upwards of forty communicated.

⁸Hawks and Perry. Connecticut. Vol. 1, pp. 255-256.

In the letter he reports the parish at Stamford as remaining "in peace and unity", and adds, "We have sundry accessions to the Church since my last of the 29th of September. I preached last Christmas to a numerous assembly; multitudes of the Dissenters came to church and behaved with great decency. Seven heads of families have declared conformity since my last account, in Stamford, and some at Horse Neck and Stanwick".⁹

Mr. Diblee was an itinerant missionary. In addition to caring for the work at Stamford, Norwalk and Ridgefield, all in Connecticut, he extended his labors to Westchester County, New York. In his 1751 letter he writes:

"I have complied with the request of sundry poor people living back on the 'oblong', so called, a tract of land, as it were, lying between the governments of New York and Connecticut, twenty or thirty miles. I have engaged to travel up amongst them the first week in May next, where there is no settled minister of any denomination among them, and I am informed, many of them are professors of our holy Church, but destitute of the means of salvation, and seldom have an opportunity to devote their children to God in covenant. I have appointed to preach at three different places that week on the 'oblong'."¹⁰

The following year he declined an attractive offer to succeed Mr. Beach at Newtown and Reading. His reasons are set forth in a letter to the S. P. G. dated October 2nd, 1752:

"Although the prospect of mending my living, thirty pounds sterling per annum, is an argument of great weight to me in my low circumstances, yet being assured that the ruin of this infant Church would be the consequence of my removal at this juncture, so soon after the good people, though poor, have exerted themselves in building their Church, and are just now exerting themselves in a great expense to finish it, having been obliged (by reason of the great expense in sending Mr. Minor home; the purchase of the glebe lot, and assisting me to go for holy orders) to meet in it under very indecent circumstances, I am resolved (in submission to the venerable Board) to refuse this advantageous offer, and rely upon God's good providence to be provided for; whose honour and the interest of our holy

⁹Hawks and Perry. Connecticut. Vol. 1, p. 276.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

Church, I think, will be advanced by this self-denial, as our enemies are ready, upon all occasions, to reproach us for showing even a necessary concern for our temporal interest, when, with any face, they can suggest that religion is disserved thereby."¹¹

So as the years passed this devoted missionary strengthened the cords of his own churches and lengthened the stakes in parts adjacent. In 1761 he records preaching "to the destitute people at Westchester (New York), where he had 'a very considerable congregation'. The following year he officiated at the opening of the church at North Castle (New York) and in company with the Hon. St. George Talbot, a devoted layman, visited Bedford, Crumpund and Peekskill, returning by way of White Plains and Croton, all in the New York government. In each of these places he 'preached a lecture', and baptized children. He reported that, outside Bedford, there was no settled teacher of religion. He found some professors of the Church; others well disposed towards it, 'but the inhabitants in general were much divided in their religious sentiments, and paid but little regard to Sundays'.¹²

Writing about this time to the S. P. G. he deplores the fact that "there hath not been late accessions to the Church from the Dissenters; the sound of the trumpet, and the alarms to war,¹³ together with a concern for the events thereof, principally engross the attention of the people".¹⁴

In common with the other missionaries in Connecticut Mr. Dibblee felt strongly the need for a bishop to oversee the Church in the American colonies. Under date of October 1st, 1767, he writes to the S. P. G.:

"We cannot but flatter ourselves, that our superiors will be made sensible of the importance and necessity of settling an Episcopate in America, in regard to the interest of religion, the obliging their best friends, the safety and security of the government, when we have so powerful and reputable a body as the venerable board to solicit in our favour * * * and ex-

¹¹Hawks and Perry. Connecticut. Vol. 1, p. 297.

¹²Bolton. *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the County of Westchester, from its Foundation, A. D. 1693 to A. D. 1853.* New York: Stanford & Swords, Publishers, 1855. P. 538.

¹³The reference is to what was known as "the old French war".

¹⁴Hawks and Perry. Connecticut, Vol. 1, p. 303.

tremely sorry indeed we were to find the venerable board so reluctant to establish any more new missions in and about New England, in consequence of the late clamours; whereas I think it impossible the present missionaries can supply the spiritual wants of the people."¹⁵

The Declaration of the Independence of the North American Colonies cast its shadows before. Long before organized rebellion there was long drawn-out agitation, and the Church of England was singled out for attack. In the course of time it became evident to the Connecticut missionaries that an increasingly powerful party was bent upon the severance of the ties which bound them to their mother country of England. Mr. Diblee voiced their feeling in the letter just quoted when he said,

"God have mercy upon us, if the provinces here should throw off their connexion, dependence, and subjection to the mother country; for, how much soever they are divided in religious sentiment among themselves, yet they can unite heart and hand to oppose and check, if possible, the growth and progress of our holy Church, which, like rising Christianity, springs up and flourishes out of their religious confusions."¹⁶

Just before the battle of Lexington he wrote:

"We view with the deepest anxiety, affliction, and concern the great dangers we are in, by reason of our unhappy divisions, and the amazing height to which the unfortunate disputes between Great Britian and these remote provinces have arisen, and the baneful influence they have upon the interest of true religion, and the wellbeing of the Church. Our duty as ministers of religion, is now attended with peculiar difficulty; faithfully to discharge the duties of our office, and yet carefully to avoid taking any part in these political disputes; as I trust my brethren in this colony have done as much as possible, notwithstanding any representations to our prejudice to the

¹⁵Hawkins. *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies Previous to the Independence of the United States*. London: B. Fellowes, Ludgate Street. 1845. P. 398.

¹⁶*Ibid.* p. 398.

contrary. We can only pray Almighty God, in compassion to our Church and nation, and the wellbeing of these provinces in particular, to avert these terrible calamities that are the natural result of such an unhappy contest with our parent State, to save us from the horrors of a civil war, and remove all groundless fears and jealousies, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord.¹⁷

When the War of the Revolution did break out it had a disastrous effect on the Church in Connecticut. The Church of England clergy were the objects of suspicion, persecution and, in some cases, of actual violence and imprisonment, and added to all this, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel withdrew its grants to the missionaries. A few of the Connecticut clergy removed, at the instigation of the Society, to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia where they were liberally provided for and protected. Fourteen of them remained at their posts; among them, Ebenezer Diblee. Writing to the S. P. G. on December 29th, 1776, the Reverend Samuel Seabury said,

"I wish I could give the Society a more pleasing account of the Missionaries in Connecticut. I believe they are all either carried away from their cures, or confined to their houses, except Mr. Diblee, who is gone to Sharon to be inoculated for the small-pox,—possibly hoping thereby to enjoy a few weeks' respite from persecution."¹⁸

These letters afford a graphic account of the sufferings of this devoted missionary, as well as a picture of the Church in Connecticut. Personal dangers, family troubles and stark poverty were his lot. Cut off from stated support by the S. P. G.; his congregation scattered and the tax for his support not levied from 1775 to 1783, he was haunted by the spectre of want. His lands were wasted; his son banished and his daughter driven insane through fright. Yet, through it all, he stuck to his post. His loyalty to the mother country and his undying love for the Church of England stand out conspicuously in this correspondence. It is clear that he cordially approved of the choice of Samuel Seabury as bishop, and equally clear that he shared the strong objections of men like Samuel Provoost to the

¹⁷Beardsley. *History of the Church in Connecticut*, Vol. 1, p. 300.

¹⁸Hawkins. *Missions of the Church of England*, p. 309.

action of Seabury in seeking consecration at the hands of the non-juring Bishops of Scotland. And in that attitude he was far from standing alone. Men who felt as he did regarded Seabury's action as an act of disloyalty alike to the English crown and to the Church of England.

The correspondence ends in February, 1793. Dr. Dibblee happily was spared to see the American Church emerge from her troubles. He saw the breach with Seabury healed and Connecticut enter the fellowship of the dioceses. He rejoiced in the Constitution and Book of Common Prayer, and his declining years were spent in peace.

The end came in 1799. The following obituary notice appeared in *The Churchman's Magazine*:

"The Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee, D. D., was a missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at Stamford in Conn., and was considered by them as one of their most active and zealous missionaries. He was a native of that State, and born at Danbury, and graduated from Yale in 1734. In the course of his ministry he used great diligence and fidelity, and not only served his congregation at Stamford to their satisfaction; but he annually visited many vacant parishes on weekdays, and also on Sundays as often as he could be spared from his people. Dr. Dibblee was a convert from the Congregational persuasion of religion to the Episcopal Church. After he left college, he was at first licensed as a candidate among the Dissenters, and allowed to preach in their congregations. He went to England for Holy Orders in 1747. This worthy and venerable clergyman died in the year 1799, old and full of days, highly respected and much lamented by his congregations. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, and he went to the grave like a shock of corn fully ripe for the garner."¹⁹

¹⁹*Churchman's Magazine*, new series, Vol. 4, pp. 269-70.

THE LETTERS.

The Reverend Mr. Peters
Pimlico
London.

Peter's Notation.
Diblee Revd.
Recd Dec.7, 1784
Answd Feb 16.

Stamford State of
Connecticut, September 10th, 1784.

My Dear Sir,

I am happy to find by your favour of the 17th of May, the Sunshine of Safety and security in the late Civil Tempest, hath not blotted out of your remembrance your aged Friend and Brother, whose grey hairs will go down with sorrow to the grave.

Many and great, my dear friend, hath been the interpositions of Divine providence, in preserving me and my family, in the late troublesome times, from falling a sacrifice.

Should I enter upon a detail of personal dangers, family troubles, destruction of property, Quartering of Soldiers upon us, laying Waste my own & Glebe lands, the attempts upon my life; the flight of my Sons, and a great number of my Parishoners; the distresses of them that remained, and were determined to ride out the Storm, or perish in the Ruins of the Church & Country; together with my being cut off from all y^e means of my family support for 7 or eight years, except that was handed in, or cast into our Lap by private Charity; it would fill a Volume; it would amaze a disinterested and unprejudiced observer: You can form some Idea of it from a Specimen of Your own unhappy Experience.

I choose to cast a Vail over, rather than, enter upon a particular of past Occurances, many of which were a reproach to a Christian Name & Character, and which the best of Causes, Civil or Religious can never Justify.

Nevertheless, what ever I have suffered personally or relatively; Under God, our preservation hath been owing to some worthy Characters, in Civil Authority, and Officers of the Military Line; from whom, I have received protection from Violence, countenance and encouragement to preserve in attending upon the Duties of my Office, Publick and private, since the opening of my Ch^h on Christmas, 1779; having been shut up from the declaration of Independency to that period.

Great hath been the burden of Duty I have to perform in the decline of Life, but that uncommon share of health I have

been favoured with hath enabled me to go through with it; and the Continuance of the Venerable Societys²⁰ Charity, hath been a temporal Consolation, without which, I must have sunk under reproach. No tax hath been levied and collected for my Support since 1774, in my Cure till y^e present year. £50 sterling will not repair the Damage done to my Own and the Glebe Lands, in the destruction of Fence &c. But blessed be God, a Remnant of the Episcopal Ch^h hath been preserved; Since the Peace, it Rises and Increases in Number & Reputation; hath found favour with the Government in being, and by a late Act is placed upon a liberal and respectable Establishment, being Invested with equal power & privilege with y^e Presbyterian *Established Church*, for y^e support of Religion the building and repairing of Churches, which opens a prospect to our faith of its future Increase; if an Episcopate may be obtained to support y^e Credit of its Authority, Discipline, Doctrine and Uniformity, of which we are not without hopes. Yet the heavy and Dark Cloud which, in the dispensations of Providence, hangs over my family, oppresses my spirits.

You complain of the Ingratitude, Cruelty and Desertion of Mankind; (my friend, trust in the Lord with all thine heart, lean not to thine own understanding, in all thy ways acknowledge him, and he will direct thy path). I hope you enjoy all y^e favour, support and encouragement, under your happy Constitution Your Zeal & Loyalty Merits. Notwithstanding my age, if consistent with Duty; I would wish my Self under Royal Protection * * *

Your concern for your Brethren here unprovided for by the Society, is gratefully acknowledged. But different Towns in this State may unite, as they are impowered in Law, to support a clergyman among them, till such place can support one themselves.

I thank you for the care in forwarding the last Abstracts, and wish to know by what Authority you intimate we may remove into any Parish, upon prospect of greater usefulness, with the continuance of the Societys favour and Charity. Many passages in your letter, wants explanation, which I hope for in your next, hoping you will improve the Door that is opened for correspondence.

Please to direct to the care of Mr. Bogardus Merchant at

²⁰The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

New York. You will present my compliments of best respects to Mr. Hubbard ²¹ and Mr. Jarvis²², who make honourable mention of you in their Letters to their Friends. Their Connexions are well.

Brother Leaming²³ fixes at Stratford, to whom I wrote, to present your Paternal regards & blessing to your Son.

The family Join in best wishes and Respect. Farewell Dear sir; Through the tender mercy of our God, may we have a happy meeting in the world of Spirits.

With unfeigned Esteem, I am, Rev^d Sir.

Your ever Affect Brother

and Humble Servt

EBENEZER DIBLEE

²¹The Rev. Bela Hubbard, son of Daniel and Diana Hubbard, was born at Guilford, Connecticut, August 27, 1739, and graduated from Yale in 1758, after which he passed one year at King's College, New York. In 1763 he sailed for England with Abraham Jarvis, to seek for Holy Orders. On February 5th, 1764, he was ordered Deacon by Frederick Keppell, Bishop of Exeter, and was advanced to the priesthood on the 19th of the same month by Charles Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle. Nine days later he was licensed to officiate in New England by Richard Osbaleston, Bishop of London. On his return he officiated at Guilford and Killingworth, Ct., till 1767, when he was appointed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as missionary at New Haven and West Haven. After 1791 he confined his labors to New Haven. During the Revolution he was an ardent Loyalist. In May, 1768, he married Grace Dunbar who was born in the Island of Antigua. Dr. Hubbard died in New Haven on Sunday, December 6, 1812, in his 74th year.

²²The Rev. Abraham Jarvis was born at Norwalk, Ct., May 5, 1739; entered Yale at the age of 18 and graduated in 1761. After officiating at Middletown, Ct., as lay reader he sailed with Bela Hubbard and was ordained with him as above. On August 1st, 1764, he became rector of Christ Church, Middletown, Ct., at a salary of seventy pounds sterling per annum. He prepared the official papers which Samuel Seabury carried to England seeking consecration as Bishop. In June, 1797, he was elected Bishop of Connecticut in succession to Samuel Seabury, and was consecrated at New Haven by Bishops White, Provoost and Bass on October — of that year. He married Ann Farmar, of New York, on May 26, 1766, and after her death, Lucy, widow of Nathaniel Lewis, of Philadelphia. Bishop Jarvis died May 3, 1813, in his 74th year.

²³Rev. Jeremiah Leaming was born at Middletown, Ct., in 1717. After serving for two years as lay reader at Norwalk, Conn., he went to London for Holy Orders, and was appointed Schoolmaster, Catechist and Assistant Minister at Newport, R. I., where he remained eight years. The next twenty-one years were spent at Norwalk, Ct., and then eight years at Stratford, Ct. During the War of the Revolution he suffered severely, being imprisoned as a Tory. In 1783 he was chosen to be Bishop of Connecticut but declined, after which Samuel Seabury was selected. Dr. Leaming died at New Haven in September, 1804, in his 87th year.

The Reverend Mr. Peters

Pimlico

London.

Peter's Notation.

Diblee Rev^d

May 3-85

received July 6, 85

answd July 20

the Edward

Cap^t Coupar.

Stamford State of Connecticut

May 3, 1785

My Dear Rev^d Sir,

I am happy in the receipt of your fav of Feb. 14, 1785. Good Sir, why do you complain of my Silence, I answered with Joy the first advise I received from you, not knowing, only by hearsay, where you were, or how to Direct to you. You'r the only person of the Clergy fled from these inhospitable Regions, Solacing in the Sunshine of Royal fav^r—that hath ever tho't me worthy of remembrance, neither have I troubled any one with a line but you, to remind them of my Existence.

Let my Brethren answer for themselves. My unhappy Situation in the late troublesome times, hath rendered me a Stranger to my Brethren here, and but seldem do I hear of what is planing in the Clerical Cabinet, or carrying into Execution.

This Spring we had news of the Peace. I was in New York, had the pleasure to find and approve of Doctor Seabury's intention to go home for Episcopal Orders. By hearsay only, except by you, & since from Brother Hubbard²⁴ at New Haven, have I ever heard of the Obstacles he met with, his final Tryumph over all opposition, by *Climbing over the Wall*.

Let me ask you my Friend was there no other way for him to be Cloathed with his Pontificals but by coming in at the *back Dore*. In what Light is it viewed at Home, by the dignified in Ch^h and State. Why did I say at Home, Govern^t hath disinherited us, nevertheless I trust we of the Episcopal Ch^h in America have many friends, who wish to serve us in our most important interests and Concerns. And was there no possible way for Doctor Seabury to obtain Consecration but in a Method so obnoxious to Revolutionary Principles?

Will not Government with you, the Dignified Clergy &

²⁴Rev. Bela Hubbard.

the venerable Society²⁵, think we are all Jacobites? I have no doubt of his Ecclesiastical Authority, but wish we might preserve as friends to a union, as close a Connection, and Uniformity with the Chh of England, as our present disjoynted state will admit.

But I am in the winter of life, Old mens Counsel is seldom asked, if it be, but little regarded. The cold climate of adversity in which I have long been, may make me view things in a wrong light, (yet) I could have wished Doctor Seabury had waited a little longer with faith & patience. I can see no reason why Government should oppose, or be unfriendly to an American Episcopate in point of policy, for I am persuaded if it had been granted many years before the late Revolution, it would have been their best security against it.

With respect to Dr. Chandler's²⁶ Distribution of the Voluntary Contributions for the suffering clergy, I never addressed

²⁵Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

²⁶The Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler was born April 26, 1726, and graduated from Yale in 1745. He studied theology under the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Ct., and in 1751 was ordained by the Bishop of London. On his return he became rector of St. John's Church, Elizabeth, N. J., and labored also at Woodbridge, where his 'tranquility' was disturbed because he refused his pulpit to George Whitefield, but reported that 'the tumult had gradually subsided'. In 1766 he was made a Doctor of Divinity of the University of Oxford. One year later he published "*An Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America; wherein the Origin and Nature of the Episcopal Office are briefly considered. Reasons for sending Bishops to America are assigned, the Plan on which it is proposed to send them is stated, and the Objections against sending them are obviated and confuted. With an Appendix, wherein is given some account of an anonymous pamphlet.*" Dr. Chandler's statements were challenged in a pamphlet by Dr. Chauncey, of Boston. Chandler replied in 1769 with *The Appeal Defended*, and in 1771 with *The Appeal Further Defended*. He was an ardent Loyalist and in 1775 went to England, where he remained for ten years and was granted an allowance of two hundred pounds sterling annually by the British Government. During his residence there he appears to have been much consulted by the authorities of the Church of England on the affairs of the Church in the United States and to have raised and distributed a fund for the relief of the loyalist clergy. He was offered by the Archbishop of Canterbury the office of Bishop of Nova Scotia, the first colonial bishopric of the English Church, but was compelled to decline by reason of a cancerous affection of the face which had developed. After the declaration of Peace, Dr. Chandler returned to his parish at Elizabethtown, but was unable again to officiate save at a few funerals and only walked abroad with a handkerchief covering his face. He died June 17, 1790, in his 65th year.

him on that Subject; nor inquired of my Brethren of their Receipts. I received £50 comparatively with others you mention, a trifle, if our sufferings could be weighed in an Equal balance.

You know the former Laws & Constitutions of this State, not a Rate was made up and Collected for me among my people from the year 1775 to 1783. Every man did what was right in his own eyes for the support of Religion. Fences on the Glebelands (purchased with St. George Talbot's²⁷ Benefaction, Subjected to an exorbitant interest of 7 pr Cent during his Life & 3½ during Mrs. Goolds, but lately Dead, and for which I am yet greatly in arrears burnt up, lying as in common 7 or 8 years. £50 Sterling will not repair at present the Damages in Fence & render equally fit for improvement, before my Dore a valuable plot of three 3 acres of my own. Fences all destroyed, from 1775 to 1781 like a common, which cost me better than £10 Sterling to repair. Add to this the flight of my Eldest Son (unhappy man—would to God I had died for him) about Christmas 1776, his house plundered, a Wife and 5 children turned out and myself obliged to take them in until Spring, then Sent off to him. Destitute of necessary bedding and Cloathing, not a grandson, whom I would have kept, permitted to stay, the Cloathing given him taken from him.

The Banishment of my Son Frederick in Nov^r 1776 till Spring, then lately graduated at Kings College, New York, to Lebanon (with about 20 of my Parishoners chiefly heads of families) supported at my cost. Myself Obligated to flee in March 1777 to my Dauter at Sharon to be inoculated for smal Pox. The town then a Hospital Town, and the smal Pox brought in by ye return of Soldiers, prisoners at Fort Washington. The flight of Frederick (left to take care of the family in my Absence) to save his life (Occasioned by ye alarm of his Excellencies Genl Tryons Excursion to Danbury) to his brothers on Long Island. My Sons looking to me for Assistance, not

²⁷The Hon. St. George Talbot was born at Dover, England, July 25, 1662, O. S., and came to America in the early part of the 18th Century. He was a vestryman of Trinity Parish, New York, from 1720 to 1724 and became a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1759. He took an active interest in Church affairs. He died on May 6, 1767, at the age of one hundred and five. After bequeathing sums of money to the churches at Rye, North Castle and Bedford, New York, the remainder of his estate was given to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

daring to enter into Service wh they might have done to advantage, in regard to my safety; cost me better than £150 sterling in Bills Drawn and privately conveyed; wanted for my own Support. Add to this the diminution of my Parish by the flight of numbers, reputable families and (best) support of the Chh. The Dangers attending my person. One bold attempt on my life being Shot at as I was going to attend a funeral. Way-laid and not presuming to return the same way but seldom when I went to attend the private Duties of my Cure. The billeting and Quartering of Soldiers upon me, sometimes a Company of a Troop of Horse, or a Militia Company, Officers and Men. Terrors by night and Day for fear of the Violence of Lawless Mobs & ungoverned Soldiery. The Ruin of one of my Daughters by frights, for a long time wholly Insane; and to this Day not wholly recovered her former composure & tranquility. Add to this the Burden of Publick Duty since our Churches were opened (wh mine was Christmas, 1779) wh I never neglected within or without our Lines, when permission could be obtained to pass & repass; and for one or two years before the peace I met with less Interruption.

I have given you some general hints, my Dear Sir, before of those past occurrences; and my preservation, I can ascribe to nothing but the providential care of Almighty God. I should not have troubled you again with a repetition of my past sufferings During the unhappy Contest now subsided; were it not for the apparent Difference between temporal Notice taken of them, and the unequal distribution of publick Charity Designed for ye relief of the greatest sufferers. But I never petitioned, nor never will.

But my friend, my friend, who hath not forgotten your Brethren in adversity—The family troubles, that dark cloud in the dispensation of Providence wh hangs over my head, overwhelms my Spirit, and will bring my Gray hairs with Sorrow to the Grave.

“One trouble calls another on; and gathering o’er my Head,
Falls
Spouting down, till round my soul, a roaring Sea is Spread.”

Blessed be God our Candlestick is not yet removed with our Sceptre ; I hope it will brighten up, and the very prin-

ciples for which it was persecuted, are now in Wisdom Adopted for the Support of Government in Chh and State.

Permit me to ask a fav^r from your readiness to oblige, I repose my Confidence. A Bill for £25 Sterling, Half years Salary, was Drawn upon the New Treasurer of the Society 4th of October last in favor of Messr Reed and Bogardus, is returned protested.

When first advised of it I was astonished, concluding the Society had finally Determined to withdraw their Salaries from such of their servants as have borne the burden & heat of the day.

Their Secretary, Doctor Morice, hath opened the Secret, and Says the Treasurer informs him, the Bills I've already Drawn & are already accepted amonts £12, 10^{sh} last Christmas more than was due to me. Be pleased, good Sir, to examine critically into this affair. It appears to me the error is in the Secretary: If in me, I stand Justly Corrected.

I can have recourse back no farther than April, 1776, my last Draft while a Correspondence was kept open. All my Accounts & Advises to the Society are destroyed (my house having been searched & liable continually to be so as pretended for Illicit Goods) to that period. And I opened no correspondence till since the Peace. If I have drawn for more than was my Due it was since that period. From April 1776 to April 1784, makes 8 years. Two of my first Bills Drawn, of £50 each, were privately drawn for the relief of my children under Loyal Protection, and I cannot ascertain in whose Names they were drawn, my only concern was to know the Bills drawn were Due. I regarded not the Dates of the Bills Drawn at any time provided the Bills were Due. Every half Year at Easter & Michelmastime for upwards of 20 years past hath been my practice to draw. Now from the minutes I have kept of Bills drawn since April 1776 to April 1784 are 2 of £50 in whose names I know not. 2 of £50 or 1 of one hundred, I think in favor of Nathaniel Peck of Greenwich in this State or for his benefit, who negociated it. 1 of £50 in favr Mr. Seabury Mercht in New York. 1 of £50 for Messrs. Fitch & Holly in Stamford. 1 of £50 in favr of Rev. Mr. Leaming, April, 1783. 1 of £25 in favr of Mr. Thomas Ellison of New York October 8, 1783; 1 Ditto of £25 in favr of Mr. Bogardus, April 22,

1784. Which makes 8 years compleat. The protested Bill in fav^r of Mess^{rs} Reed and Bogardus was dated 6th of October 1784, which so far as I can see at present judge is justly Due. My Salary was originally Appointed to Commence from St. John's Day, but between it and Easter term, was long Since adjusted to render half years drawing convenient. I recollect not that I ever Drew a Quarterly Bill of £12.10. Upon the Death of Mr. Palmer²⁸, I was ordered by y^e Secretary to Draw so far as I can recollect for that Nominal Sum, & pay it to his relict family. In like manner after Mr. Lamsons²⁹ Death I was Ordered to Draw a Bill of £25 and pay it to y^e relict Widow & Children; I did so and took Receipts. Those Bills Drawn in my name possible hath Occasioned the Errors. If I have erred it is through Mistake not intentially. If permitted, please to examin the Treasurer's Accounts, the Bills I have Drawn, the sums and in whose favor, which will Ascertain the matter. If I am in error I hope it will be considered as involuntary.

Frederick by applying to Business upon the Island had acquired to himself in Trade as good as 6 or 700£. New York Money. Married an agreeable Young Lady, but a Refugee of no other fortune but her personal vertues; but towards the Close of the War, Our Whale Boat crusers found him, plundered him of all his goods, and even their Wareing Apparel. He is now in St. Johns River, at Kingston, New Brunswick. A number of Refugies are Settled there formerly of my Parish. He writes me ye 1st of last month, he reads Divine Service to them. Doctor Morice tells me the attention of the Society is turned to that Province if my Son might be admitted to holy Orders & appointed a Missionary there I believe it would be highly agreeable to him, as I designed him for the Service of the Ch^h in giving him a Collegiate education. If

²⁸Rev. Solomon Palmer, a graduate of Yale. Minister in South Litchfield, Conn., 1754-1771. Died, Nov. 1, 1771.

²⁹Joseph Lamson, son of William of Stratford, Conn., was born about 1719 and graduated from Yale in 1741. He was licensed by the Bishop of London, 1745, and appointed as assistant at Bedford, North Castle, N. Y., and Ridgefield, Conn. On his voyage to England for ordination he was taken prisoner by the French. About 1747 he took charge of Fairfield, Conn., and that year married Alethia, daughter of Rev. James Wetmore, of Rye, N. Y. He died in 1773.

you can be of any Service in promoting it, it would be gratefully accepted. I have mentioned him to the Society * * *

Frederick is requested to take Orders and Settle among them.

Doctor Seabury, our right Reverend Father in God is not arrived. I believe he will not be received with that [eclat], as if he came in at the right Dore.

If the New England States consulted their own Interest, for they are such the weightiest in the American Scale, they would enter soon into the treaty you mention.

With Family Compliments to You and your Daughter, with my prayers for the best of heaven's blessings to attend you.

I am Reverend Sir,

Your unfeigned Friend

And Affectionate Brother

EBENEZER DIBLEE.

The Reverend Mr. Peters
Pimlico
London.

Peter's Notation.

Diblee Rec^d

March 20th, 1786

recd June 13

Stamford State of Connecticut

March 20th, 1786.

My Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 20th of July last, I received in October. Upbraid me not with neglect of indifference, it will be cruel. It astonished and confounded me. I knew not what to say. When the Son of Man cometh, will he find faith in the earth? I esteem you for your probity and integrity, and shall be happy in your future correspondence. You say what profit can I receive from your groans and tears. Much every way. Your language speaks the pulse of your heart. It is no small consolation that I have a Brother who regards that Apostolical precept; Bear ye one anothers burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ. This and the consolations of Religion are my support in this last cloudy portion of life. I thank you for every demonstration of your regards to me & my Son, and your kind endeavours to serve.

I unbosomed my troubled mind but little expected my uncorrected letter would have been laid before that pious, learned,

most charitable Body. It was *wrote in the bitterness of my Soul*. That *severe rebuke* of providence, (less than my defects) *and my age*, constrains me to sojourn in Mesech, and dwell in the tents of Kedar. What delayed my Answers to yours; I could get no answer from my Son in New Brunswick, till within a few days. I gave him the earliest notice of my final determination not to remove, of having recommended him to the Society, wishing to know if he retained his former inclination to enter into Orders. My advises never reached him, till mine of the 25th of last November—tho he had received Mr. Jarvis³⁰ wrote by your kind order. Till my last he flattered himself, I might be induced to remove; but in his letter of the 29th of Janr. Just received, he says, it was always his wish to go into the service of the Church, till the unhappy disturbances between the Mother Country and the Colonies began. The rubbers he met with damped his spirits, *but by reading of service for the Chh of Kingston* his inclination for the service returned. He laments his long necessary *seperation from his Studies*, the want of books and Cash &c.

He hath met with a kind invitation from Doctor Morice³¹ with assurances of being provided for at Kingston by the Society, upon recommendations in his favr & due representation of the propriety of Establishing a Mission there. I have just advised him of it, *and doubt not of his resolution* to go home for holy Orders, *if he can make his way*, relying upon the good disposition of the Society to provide for him there, or else where more to his advantage. My finances are so small, I cannot lend him that assistance I could wish. *I fear he will be put to difficulty to make his way into holy Orders*. If he goes home, you will be so kind as to favour him with your best advice, and take him under your paternal care & direction. What ever service you render him, it shall be gratefully accepted & rewarded—place it to my account. Can no charitable allowance be obtained, to defray the expence of his Voyage, and furnish him with Books?³² *If the Society withdraw their supporting*

³⁰Rev. Abraham Jarvis.

³¹Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

³²In the roll of Missionaries of the S. P. G. the Rev. Frederick Dibblee is recorded as stationed at Woodstock, New Brunswick, from 1792 to 1825. He died May 17, 1826. (*Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* Vol. 2, p. 866.)

hand from me, I must end my days in want, dishonor and contempt. Happy for me, that the irregularity complained of in the draft of my Bills arose from former mistakes in the treasurer of the Society, not placing to their account the money I drew for Palmer & Lamson families. Doctor Morice, hath in a most friendly and polite manner given me early advice of it, and given me leave to draw for Seventy Pound; twenty-five of which I drew last Michelmas, knowing that to be due; to atone for my protested Bill, and wh was better than £5 New York Money extraordinary expense. But as there was no error in my Drafts, it appears to me £75 must be my due at the closing my account with the Society.

The Character you give some Gentlemen, some of whom I entertained a favourable opinion, is very surprising. Their high opinion of themselves, I have been fully sensible; the unequal distribution of the Charitable Collection for the suffering Clergy is amazing. I never had but fifty pounds assigned me. The Rebuffs the haughty, Proud, Covetous, aspiring Hibernian, Dr. I-g-l-s³³ hath met with, to his great mortification; together with the secrets of the other characters, I wish to be let into the knowledge. I envy not their Wealth or Honours. It is too late in life for me to wish or desire undeserved honour or promotion. Mr. Mansfield's³⁴ *unhappy dispute with the*

³³The Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, born in Ireland in 1733, was the loyalist rector of Trinity Church, New York, resigning his parish in 1783 by reason of the fact that he had been attainted for treason by the American authorities. He was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia on August 12th, 1787, in London, being the first colonial bishop of the Church of England. His jurisdiction included the provinces of upper and lower Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Bermuda. He died February 24, 1816, in the eighty-second year of his age, the fifty-eighth of his ministry, and the twenty-ninth of his episcopate. (Cf. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. 5, pp. 186-191; Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution*, p. 109ff.)

³⁴ Rev. Richard Mansfield, rector of Derby, Conn., was born in New Haven in 1724 and graduated from Yale in 1741. He was ordained in England on August 7, 1748, by Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1749 entered on his work at the combined parishes of West Haven, Waterbury, Derby and Northbury; after 1755 he ministered at Derby and Oxford, Conn., his ministry at Derby extending to the unprecedented period of seventy-two years. During the Revolution a warrant was issued for his arrest, but he escaped leaving behind nine children. He died in April, 1820, at the age of ninety-six. (Cf. Sprague, *Annals*, &c., pp. 131-34.)

Lights is compromised and settled by his Son. The Clergys neglect of the Venerable Society in their application for Dr. Seaburys consecration, is the height of ingratitude & unpardonable. *Who counselled Doct^r S-b-y to that unadvised Step to obtain Episcopal Orders, I cannot learn.* If my name was exhibited among the rest to the Arch Bishop, *it was without my knowledge*—I was not in their Counsels—I have no personal Objection to the Bishop but his coming in at the back door of the British Constitution, I have signified my disapprobation of, for which, & my neglect of a congratulatory address, hath been Esteemed unfriendly. We are not all Jacobites, *however we are esteemed & neglected*, for I know of more than *One* in this State who had no Idea of Dr. S pursuing such a measure to obtain Episcopal Consecration, until it was publickly announced, *and think it hard the innocent should suffer with the guilty.*

But to his honour be it spoken, the Bp conducts with great wisdom and prudence, in the security he hath taken, of such as he hath ordained, of their conformity to the Liturgy of the Chh of England, except where it affects the civil State & Rulers.—and he hath appointed no other alterations in any part of the Service, but in praying for the Governor & Rulers of the State, instead of the King & Royal Family. Having set his foot down I hope it will remain immovable. And that Connecticut Episcopal Chh for the unity prosperity, increase of Edification of which I am deeply interested & concerned, will finally be placed upon as near a footing, in point of Ecclesiastical Polity, Doctrine, Discipline & Worship with the Chh for which we retain the greatest reverence & esteem, as the Civil Constitutions of the respective States will admit.

It hath been a matter of *doubt with me*, whether by the Revolution, we were *released from all obligation in Spiritualities of Canonical obedience & subjection to your Chh.* And if in the wisdom of the Gov^m in Ch^h & State, it was thought unadvisable to consecrate Bish^p S-S—Duty, Gratitude & Interest dictated the wisdom & prudence, till in providence an effectual door was opened to obtain a Bishop in a more regular way. And I feared, as it hath in fact proved, where the Episcopal Ch^h in the United States looked upon themselves released from all obligations of Uniformity conformity and Subjection to our Mother Ch^h

we should make wild work in reforming the Liturgy, and Setting an Ecclesiastical Polity & Constitution. Witness the late grand Convention³⁵ at Philadelphia last Sept. composed of Ecclesiastical & *Lay delegates* of the Southern States.³⁶ They have laid it down as a fundamental principle in their new Constitution, that the Churches should be governed by such a consistory or convention; their Bishop or Bishops if they can obtain such, *shall be members only ex officio—not president—and Amenable* to s^d convention for his conduct (a Bishop only in name, & do the drudgery of Ordination). In a high opinion of their own wisdom self sufficiently & importance, they have at a Jirk knocked off the Atherⁿ & Nicene Creeds about, & altered y^e *Apostle's Creed*, also the frequent repition of y^e *Lord's* prayer, and it is said of y^e *Gloria Patri*. Also have altered the *Baptismal, Matrimonial, Visitation of the Sick, & Burial Office*. They have Ordered their new Fangled Service, or *Common Prayer to be Printed*,³⁷ and I shall be able to give you a more accurate & Authentic account. What will not men do when loose from restraint?

A form of Service is printed in the *Bay State* with an intire exclusion of *all Divine honour to the Son of God*, in the Creeds, & all parts of the *Service*.³⁸

³⁵The first General Convention held at Philadelphia, Sept. 27 to Oct. 7, 1785.

³⁶At this Convention the churches in New England were not represented.

³⁷The liturgical alterations adopted by the Convention of 1785 were printed in what was known as "The Proposed Book". It met with so much disfavor that it did not come into common use, and was superseded by the Prayer Book adopted at the Convention of 1789.

³⁸The reference is to the revised Prayer Book issued by King's Chapel, Boston, which reflected its adoption of the Unitarian faith. The title page runs as follows:

A
LITURGY
Collected Principally From The
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
For the Use of The
FIRST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN
BOSTON
Together With The
PSALTER OR PSALMS
OF
DAVID.
Boston

Printed by Peter Edes, in State Street
MDCCLXXXV.

The Crown is not only despoiled of one of its brightest Jewels, but *the Ark of God is in the Dust!*

Our compliments wait upon Miss your admirable Daughter & Mr. Jarvis. His connections are well. I have sent to Frederick to be delivered, or forwarded to you, Mr. Leaming's³⁹ Sermon, & address of the Clergy &c to B-S at there first meeting at Middle Town.

My prayers and best wishes attend you,

I am, Revd Sir, with unfeigned Esteem,

Your Most Affect Brother, *in adversity*,

EBENEZER DIBLEE.

Reverend Mr. Peters.

Reverend Doctor Samuel Peters

Pimlico

London.

Peter's Notation.

Diblee Revd.

Aug. 10, 1792

rec. Oct. 20

Stamford, Connecticut

August 13, 1792.

Reverend Dear Doctor.

I gratefully acknowledge the favour of yours of the 18th of Febr^e which came to hand the 7th of June. Too late in my apprehension to give you answer, expecting you were on your passage to your native Country.

Last evening Mr. Samuel Jarvis communicated the advice he just received from you dated in May, intimating your Stay in London till some time in Sept^r—This prompts me to thank you for the agreeable advice you gave me of the Arch-B^{ps} gracious goodness in allotting me the gratuity of £40, &c. I received advice also of this from Doctor Morice Dated the 7th of March, Authorising me to draw upon him for said benefaction, which I have accordingly done; Mr. Bates not desiring my Bill, & unwilling to pay for it, until he could get a letter to you, & advise of its acceptance; which he judges improbably, & would be too late.

For every instance of your humanity, brotherly love, fellow feeling, Services &c, may God reward you Seven fold into your

³⁹Rev. Jeremiah Leaming.

bosom. God grant I may live to See you before we meet in the world of Spirits.—

Family troubles remain; tho I thank God, alleviated in some measure. My daughter Polly is more composed, tho not wholly restored to a State of tranquility. She was the most melancholy unhappy object you ever saw the last year. Mrs. Diblee, by Sickness, Age & family troubles, is quite an invalid. Uncommon health I am favoured with, & persevere in my course of publick Duty, but the Shadows of the evening are fast approaching.

Mr. Jarvis will advise you of his brother & Lady's Safe arrival at Mont Real &c. I must again advise you of Sally Thorps Marriagle (agreeable to her friends) to Elisha Leeds, son to Israel Leeds deceased, of her having a Daughter; please to notice it to her Father & Brother; Suspecting, from your mentioning of her, you have not received advice I gave you of it, above a year past. She remembers your promise. My best respects wait upon Henry Lloyd Esq., & his Lady. God bless them & grant of his unmerited grace, they may go down to the grave in peace, & receive the reward of their exemplary virtue, piety & Charity. I should have long since wrote to him, & endeavoured to have removed any unfavorable impressions he might have received of me or my Ch^h—(Slowly but gradually rising out of its ruins, & the Ch^h it Self nedding to ruin, now thoroughly & decently repaired) tending sooner or later to obstruct his intended benefaction to a Ch^h first founded & encouraged by his Patronage: But it was too tender a point. I had rather Suffer my Self in his estimation than hurt his feelings. Off Public intelligence, I find you know everything here better than I can advise you. God bless you, my Rev^d Dear Sir—Prosper your intended Voyage; this is the (sincere) wish & fervent prayer of your

Most Affec^t friend & Broth^r in Christ

EBENEZER DIBLEE.

N. B. I am not allowed time to copy or correct; you must accept of this as you find it. My Son Frederick—New Brunswick—was admitted to Deacons Orders last Octob^r—was to be Ordained Priest 15th instant, or meet the Bishop at St. John's for that purpose.

Rev. Doctor Peters.

Reverend Doctor Samuel Peters,
Grosvenor Square, Pimlico.
London.

Peter's Notation.
Diblee Rev^d
5 Feby, 1793
rec^d April 18
Ans^d June 93
Stamford State of Connecticut
Feb. 5, 1793.

Reverend dearly beloved Sir,

I lately received a kind letter from Henry Lloyd Esq in which he Speaks most respectfully of you, and of your benevolent disposition & kind Services to me—Believe me, it will ever be had in grateful remembrance. He makes no mention of his once intended benefaction of a valuable Library to this Ch^h of which I hoped to see the completion; and a Select number given for the use & Benefit of the Rector of St. John's Ch^h for the time being upon Divinity.

Having long experience the adverse Dispensations of providence, in family troubles; alleviated, but not wholly removed, I most heartily compassionate his aged afflicted brother, in the late death of his Son John Lloyd, and Son in law Doctor Coggel. I thank God, my unhappy Dauter remains better, but greatly deranged & discomposed in her mind. I fear will ever remain so.

In a late Convention of the Bishops, Clerical & Lay Delegates of the United States; a happy Coalition among the Bishops took place Through Bishop Seabury's wise & prudent conduct, all contention for primacy or precedency is laid aside. A happy union we hope will succeed. The new Service⁴⁰ is generally adopted in the States, & complied with for peace & unity sake; altho the omissions & verbal alterations, will never be agreeable to the old Tory Church men. We hope the defects in Government will be rectified in a future Convention, & the Church restored to its primitive purity & Episcopal form of Government. Brother Sayer,⁴¹ thro an intemperate Zeal, &

⁴⁰The Prayer Book of 1789.

⁴¹James Sayre, a Scotchman by birth, graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1765 and became missionary at Stratford, Conn. While settled there he protested against the Prayer Book adopted in 1789 and refused to use it in his parish. In consequence he fell under the ecclesiastical ban and is believed to have entered the ministry of another religious denomination. It is said that "actual insanity" was the cause of his death in 1798. (Cf. Beardsley, *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. 1, p. 421ff.)

imprudent conduct, towards the Bishop & his brethren, hath left; & how he will Dispose of himself & his future Services, I am not advised. He hath Sounded an alarm of herisy & levelled his artillery against the impiety & irreligion of the day. he would have been more serviceable to the true interest of Religion. For Sectaries of all Denominations abound; Infidelity & Disrespect to all Religion & contempt of all Ecclesiastical Authority; and that it matters not what religious profession a man is of, provided he is a good Citizen; is the prevailing Spirit & temper of the Day. We shall soon be as thorough paced Republicans in Church as in State. The best Preacher, is the best Minister, let him be of what Ch^h & Denomination so ever. The Ch^h begins to catch the contagion, and if the laws in this State for the Support of a public Religion are once abolished, as we have reason to fear, both Ch^h & Presbyterians will be in an unhappy case. I hope your Government in the Ch^h & State stands firm, notwithstanding, our Newspaper [reports] of its tottering State. France hath received the reward of their perfidy, in full measure, pressed down, & running over.

I thank you for your remembrance of me in your letter to Mr. Sam^l Jarvis, communicated yesterday. The kind Services you have rendered me, will ever be remembered with gratitude. From the goodness of your heart I hope for the continuance of your influence in my favour. I condole with you in the loss of your Grandson, Mr. Jarvis eldest Son, of which I trust you have been advised.

Concerning Mr. Thorp's Daughter Sally, in your letter of the 25th of July, 1790; you was pleased to say, "If Mr. Thorp's daughter maries according to your liking, I will give her a new gown &c". I marryd her the 27 Jan^r 1791 to Elisha Leeds, a reputable, Sober industrious young man & Christened a Daughter of hers, Decemb^r following.

With every sentiment of Respect & Esteem to your self, to the most worthy Henry Lloyd Esq. & Lady, and the Venerable Doctor Breynton, recommending you all to the blessing & protection of Almighty God. I am in the bond of love & charity.

Your ever most Affectionate Brother
faithful friend & Humble Serv^t

EBENEZER DIBLEE.

The Rev^d Doctor Peters
 When shall we see him,
 and honored with the Mitre?

Note.

At the foot of this letter and in the handwriting of Dr. Peters are these words:

"Sent two Gowns to Sally Leeds.
 16 July, 1793.

S. Peters."

THE REVEREND DOCTOR SAMUEL PETERS,⁴² to whom these letters were addressed, was a notorious character. The son of John Peters, he was born at Hebron, Connecticut, on November 20th, 1735, and graduated from Yale in 1757. After a course of private theological study he was sent over to England for Holy Orders by the church at Hebron.⁴³ He was the fourth candidate for orders sent by this parish. The first was lost at sea; the second died on his homeward journey; the third was captured by the French, imprisoned in Bayonne castle and there died.

Peters himself contracted smallpox during his stay in London and came near to death. Upon his recovery he was ordained deacon and priest in 1759 and appointed missionary at Hebron where he ministered for fourteen years. Sometime after his return he wrote the S. P. C. saying:

"The people belonging to the Church at Hebron seem religiously attentive to my instructions, and desire me, in their behalf, to say they return all thanks that hearts filled with gratitude are able, to you and to the honourable Society for your gracious notice in sending them their desire in a worthy Missionary; and, to enlarge their minds and fit them for a better

⁴²He was registered at Yale as Samuel Andrew Peters.

⁴³Hebron was settled in 1704, and in 1716 was authorized by the General Court "to gather a church and ordain an orthodox minister among them". The building of an Episcopal church was begun in 1735, but the structure was not completed until 1766. The work was carried on under the supervision of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, S. P. G. missionary at New London who reported in 1736 that his success was "something remarkable at Hebron", twenty families professing adherence to the Church of England.

world, a number of books also, which (by God's blessing) shall meet with their desired effect."⁴⁴

The greater part of his ministerial life at Hebron was uneventful. It was said of him that as a "preacher, he held a highly respectable rank; his sermons were written with care, and delivered in a manly and impressive manner".

Writing in 1857 the Reverend A. B. Chapin said, "Mr. Peters, during the period of his ministry in Connecticut, was regarded by his brethren as a well disposed but ambitious man; apt to be rash, inclined to be dogmatic, and remarkably given to embellishment in all his statements".⁴⁵

Notwithstanding these faults, Peters appears to have been a devoted itinerant missionary. In 1768 he spent several weeks in visiting scattered settlements in Vermont, preaching every other day. According to his own statement in his *Life of Dr. Hugh Peters*, he baptized nearly twelve hundred adults and children on this journey. Two years later he extended his visitation to the northern parts, including New Hampshire, which then had but one parish at Portsmouth. Of this tour he writes the S. P. G.,

"Upon the 10th of September I left Hebron, taking my clerk with me. We arrived among the poor immigrants upon the 16th of said month. The bank of the west side of the river is in the Government of New York, lately taken off from the New Hampshire Government—a territory now sufficient for two large counties, viz. Cumberland and Gloucester; the latter having only one Independent teacher, (poor enough), the former without any kind of teachers. Yet in both counties are several thousand souls, who live without means of grace, destitute of knowledge, laden down with ignorance and covered with poverty. On the east side of the River are many many settlements begun, whose inhabitants much resemble their neighbours in every uncomfortable property. Among these people I spent four weeks, travelling from place to place, preaching and baptizing, the people being careful to attend Divine Serv-

⁴⁴Beardsley. *History of the Church in Connecticut*. Vol. 1, pp. 207-8.

⁴⁵Sprague. *Annals of the American Pulpit; Or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, &c.* Vol. 5, p. 195. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1859.

ice; many waiting for a Clergyman to reside among them; viz. in the towns of Claremont, Strafford, Thetford, Moretown, Windsor, and Orford, Haverhill, and being so nigh one another that one Clergyman might accommodate the whole. In October I travelled west from the River in a pathless wilderness, by trees marked and by the compass, and crossed the Green Mountains. On the West of this mountain are the towns of Windsor (Manchester), and Arlington, &c. Here are a number of very serious Churchmen: with them I tarried three days, preached and baptized, and was much pleased with their rubrical devotion and zeal for religion, which is owing much to Capt. Hawley, a worthy, good man. On this occasion I baptized 35 infants and buried one, preached as often as every other day, travelled 700 Or 800 miles in a way so uneven that I was in peril oft.”⁴⁶

It is stated in *The Churchman's Magazine* for August, 1805, that Mr. Peters organized the parish at Claremont, New Hampshire, about the year 1771.⁴⁷ It was this parish which later gave Philander Chase to the ministry of the Church.

The War of the Revolution brought the ministry of Dr. Peters in Hebron to an abrupt and violent close. His manner of life and his amazing indiscretions of speech alike incurred the bitter hostility of the people in his native town. Writing in 1853, his uncle, Dr. John S. Peters, governor of Vermont, said of him: “He loved Kings, admired the British Government, and revered the heirarchy. He aped the style of an English nobleman—built his house in a forest, kept his coach, and looked with some degree of scorn upon republicans”.⁴⁸ This did not commend itself to the Connecticut Whigs, but added to this, his intercepted correspondence with English friends on the political situation brought about serious trouble. Some of his letters were published with caustic comments and his house was searched by a mob. A second and more hostile mob visited his house and found him fully arrayed in his clerical vestments. These they tore into ribbons and carried him to the public square. In order to escape tar and feathers he read from a horse-block a public confession prepared by his foes. Shortly

⁴⁶Batchelder, *History of the Eastern Diocese*. Vol. 1, pp. 175-6. Claremont, N. H. The Claremont Manufacturing Company, Church Printers. 1876.

⁴⁷*The Churchman's Magazine*. Vol. 2, No. 8, p. 177.

⁴⁸Sprague. *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. 5, p. 194.

afterwards, hearing that another mob was gathering, he escaped and made his way to Boston. The records of the S. P. G. state that "the Rev. S. Peters of Hebron left his Mission to avoid the fury of an outrageous multitude, who, after the most inhuman treatment of him, still threatened his life".⁴⁹ From Boston he sent a characteristically fanciful letter to his mother, which was intercepted announcing that "Six regiments are now coming from England, and sundry men of war; so soon as they come hanging work will go on and destruction will first attend the sea port towns; the lintel sprinkled and the side posts will preserve the faithful".⁵⁰

In October he sailed for England. Shortly after his arrival he was granted a pension by the British government and obtained a grant in compensation of his monetary losses as a loyalist. In 1781 he published *A General History of Connecticut*, by a Gentleman of the Province—a volume conspicuous for its inaccuracies. This he followed by *The History of the Rev. Hugh Peters, M. A., Arch-Intendant of the Prerogative Court of Doctor's Commons*. In later life he also published a short *History of Hebron*. The tradition that he invented the Blue Laws of Connecticut has no foundation in fact. The laws were in common use before he was born.

So far as is known, Dr. Peters never exercised his ministry during the many years of his residence in London, and this was, in part, a determining factor in the refusal of the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him as Bishop of Vermont. At the same time, he appears to have been regarded by the English ecclesiastical authorities as in some sense representing the Church in the American colonies. There is ample evidence that from time to time he was consulted by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, and he had a keen understanding of the political situation as it affected the Church in America. Seabury consulted with him during his stay in London, as did Dr. Myles Cooper, and Jeremiah Leaming, of Connecticut.

Distressing as was his conduct in later days, it is well to

⁴⁹*Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G. An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900.* By C. F. Pascoe. London: 1901. Vol. 1, p. 48.

⁵⁰Beardsley, *History of the Church in Connecticut*, Vol. 1, p. 307.

remember that Dr. Peters rendered signal service to the church in Connecticut in the hour of her greatest need.

On September 19, 1793, the Reverend Doctor Edward Bass, of Massachusetts, was elected Bishop of Vermont. The record of the convention which met at Pawlet runs: "Voted to elect the Reverend Doctor Edward Bass, Rector of Newburyport, to be Bishop of this State".⁵¹ Dr. Bass accepted the election "provided they do not require my constant residence". No immediate steps were taken for his consecration, which in any case would been impossible inasmuch as Vermont was not at that time in union with the General Convention.

On the 27th day of February following a special convention was convened at Manchester. On that occasion Dr. Samuel Peters was nominated as bishop by one of his relatives and was duly elected, though not without opposition. Colonel John A. Graham, of Rutland, Vermont, was deputed to go to England as agent of the diocese and secure the consecration of Dr. Peters by the English bishops. In the *Life of Hugh Peters* (written by Dr. Peters) there is a curious statement concerning this election. It reads, "After the Revolutionary War, the Episcopalians who had settled in the State of Vermont, with the Presbyterians, Methodists and Puritans, unanimously elected the Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D., their Bishop, and invited him to accept the office and return to his native country".⁵² Under date of July 17, 1794, Dr. Peters wrote from London accepting his election. He pointed out, however, that in the event of his consecration, his pension would cease, and inasmuch as he had lost his private means he would be dependent upon the Church in Vermont to maintain the dignity and hospitality of the episcopate; "lest my reputation and the fashion of religion dwindle away through my poverty in the highest office of Christ's Church".⁵³ On the same date Peters addressed a letter "*To the Churches of Christ spread abroad in the State of Vermont, mercy, peace and love be multiplied*:"

⁵¹*The Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Vermont, from the Year 1790 to 1832, inclusive.* New York: Pott & Amery:—Cooper Union. 1870, p. 16.

⁵²*Ibid* p. 26.

⁵³*Documentary History of the Church in Vermont*, p. 27.

Until I come, give attendance to reading, prayer and faith. When present with you, by the grace of God, I will lead you through the wilderness of life, up to a world that knows no sorrow. I will guide you with mine eye, and feed your lambs and sheep with bread more durable than the everlasting hill.

While absent from you in body, I am present with you in mind, thanking God always in every prayer of mine, and making request with joy for your fellowship in the Gospel of His Son; that you may be of good cheer, and overcome a world yielding no content, the only wealth of man; and that you may know how to be abased, and how to abound; every where and in all things to be instructed to obey the laws of Christ.

The spirit which heals all our infirmities, no doubt led you to glorify God in me, when you appointed the least of all saints to fill the highest station in the Church of Jesus Christ; duty and inclination (with feeble blood flowing in my veins) inspire my soul to seek and do you good in that sacred office to which you have invited me; being confident that you will receive me with all gladness, and hold me in reputation for the work of Christ, which brought me near to death, and shall finally make you my glory and joy.

Your preferring me to my superiors, both in spiritual and literary attainments, honours me most unexpectedly and demands my best returns of gratitude and labours of love.

Should Providence conduct me over the dangers of the sea to my native shore, and give me the blessing of seeing again my long absent friends, I shall rejoice as Simeon did at his vision, and with him say, 'Lord, now let me depart in peace—for mine eyes have seen thy salvation'. Though I may blush when you discover my improvements not adequate to your expectations and my opportunities in this Isle of wisdom and learning.

Should my insufficiency in spiritual and scientific knowledge appear too manifest among you, my zeal and labours in the vineyard of the Lord shall, I trust, be your pride and boast. In this hope, and resting on the candour, order, morality, learning, piety and religion of those over whom I am well chosen to preside, I shall, with some degree of confidence, undertake the charge, and claim the wisdom of the wise to enlighten my un-

derstanding, and the charity and prayers of all to remove my wants, and to lessen my manifold imperfections.

Whenever I come to you, it will be in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of God. I beseech you, therefore, Brethren, for Christ's sake and the love of the Sprit, that you strive together in your prayers to God for me, that I may come unto you with joy, and may with you be refreshed.

'Be ye wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil.'

The Churches of Christ salute you. Salute one another with faith and love.

I salute you all with the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and in the mystery of the everlasting God made known for the obedience of faith.

'To God only wise, be glory through Jesus Christ, forever, Amen.'

Dearly beloved Brethren, whether absent or present, believe me to be, with all sentiments of respect and fidelity,

Your servant in Christ,

SAMUEL PETERS.

York Street, Westminster, London, July 17th, 1794."

The convention of the diocese of Vermont officially requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to arrange for the consecration and Colonel Graham personally seconded the request. The Archbishop politely, but firmly, declined so to do. He pointed out that they had already provided a college of bishops for America. He further stated that Dr. Peters, who had not resided in Vermont for twenty years, could not produce the canonical testimonials from that diocese, nor, he added, "could the want of that testimony be supplied in England, where he has lived all that time, without the exercise of any ecclesiastical function, within the cognizance or jurisdiction of any of our Bishops".

The convention of 1795 then applied to the American bishops for the consecration of Dr. Peters. The matter came up at the General Convention of that year, and the bishops decided that they could not "with propriety consecrate a Bishop for the Church in any State, until such Church shall have acceded

to the general ecclesiastical Constitution of the Church in the United States".⁵⁴ So the matter ended.

Just about this period Dr. Peters fell on evil days. As a result of a controversy with William Pitt the pension he had enjoyed from the British crown was withdrawn, and he himself appears to have lost his fortune. In 1805 he returned to his native country to pursue his claim to a tract of land, one hundred miles square, at the Falls of St. Anthony, but for which he had no valid title. Driven by poverty, he sold portions of the lands to procure means of support; "fictitious sales" for which he could have been prosecuted. His last years were spent in New York where he lived on charity. There he died on April 19, 1826, in his ninety-first year. He was buried at Hebron, his tombstone bearing the following inscription written by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis:

"Here rests until the Resurrection the body of the Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D.; who was born at Hebron, November 20, 1735, O. S., and died in New York, April 29, 1826, aged 91. He was ordained in England, Deacon and Priest, in the year 1759; and while residing in that country, after the Revolution, was elected, though on account of those troublous times, not consecrated, Bishop of Vermont. His life was full of adventures, adversities and trials, which he bore with fortitude, patience and serenity. This monument is erected to his memory by his grandson, Samuel Jarvis Peters, of New Orleans, 1841."

⁵⁴*Journals of the General Convention, 1795.*

LETTER FROM J. PETERS¹ OF HALIFAX, NOVA
SCOTIA, TO THE REV. DR. SAMUEL
PETERS, OF LONDON.

Note. The following letter, written by John Peters to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters, of London, is of interest by reason of its reference to the effort to obtain Consecration as Bishop of Vermont: and also its reference to the death of Bishop Seabury.

“No. 4.

Halifax, 13th August 1796.

Revnd & Dear Sir,

After long waiting, I received your favor of 26th February, with Mr. Desbrisays' Bill of £13.10 under Protest—all I am to loose by it is trouble—I shall have no more to do with Bills from that virtuous Spot, If I can possibly avoid it—with this you will receive a Small letter enclosing 2^s of William Winters Bill on David Thomas, for £10. This, it is said, will be paid punctually—If not, I shall loose Money—Your letter above mentioned, was 54 days on its way to Boston, One Day at Boston, and 98 days from Boston, Via New Brunswick, to this pleasant land, in all 153 days from London— Mr. M^c Namara Thanks you, and Doubts not but St Peter will do Justice to him and Nova Scotia, in the record you have applied to him for.

I find it absolutely necessary that, if you are Consecrated Bishop of Vermont at all, it must be done in London, else you will be like the rest of the American Bishops, who, according to your Account, are just like *Justices of the Peace, in particular Counties*— Step over a line, that sometimes is long, but no thickness, and they are of no more consequence that I am, unless they have more money—Your Consecration therefore must be had in London. So I said at the first.

On the 7th instant, by His Majesty's Packet Boat the Halifax, I received your favors of 29th and 30th May with the

¹John Peters was Postmaster at Halifax.

enclosures— I thank you for the Abstract and Mr. Graham's² Pamphlet. Mr. Freeling is a Gentleman, and will never refuse sending you or me, anything that is passing between us.

I have Wrote to Mrs Ann Peters what you have desired— Henry Moore Peters is now here, and is to carry my letter to his Mother: What you say concerning the Bill he drew, I shall tell himself—He told me when he drew that Bill, that he had orders from you long before, to draw on you for that Sum.

I have a letter from Mrs Ann Peters, dated the 11th July, received the 9th instant— She says you expected her to remove to Vermont, where, in your letter of August 1795, to her, you said you expected to be by Christmas— She says that she is not now able to remove from Sydney, her health being too far gone—She is so lame in her right Arm, that she can scarce hold her pen; occasioned by the Rheumatism, and her right eye much effected, by the same complaint in her head. What will become of her it is hard to say. . . .

There will be no War between England and the American States—the *Treaty of Mr Jays* ratified. I am surprised you had not heard of it.

I have seen Mr George Andrew: he says he hath no objections to reconvey &c— I have been very ill, ever since I received your letter and *Saint Hakes* Papers— All that can be done in that business here, shall be done quickly, and then the whole of those papers, together with your letter to me of 30th of May, shall be sent to Munson Jarvis Esq^r at St John, who, I trust, will do everything in his power, that is requisite to be done in and concerning the Premises— I shall request him to send his Bill of expenses to me, which I will pay, and to give me the earliest account concerning the State of those Affairs, that he possibly can in order that I may communicate the same to you.

His Majesty's Ship *Active*, in which Lord Donhester and

²Mr. Graham was the Colonel John A. Graham, described as "Agent for the Church in Vermont", who was sent to London by the diocese to secure the consecration of Dr. Peters as Bishop of Vermont.

his Family were taking Passage from Quebec to England, is wrecked on the Island of *Antioisti*; and I am informed that the Ship is totally lost, but no lives.— I do not know the day on which this Catastrophe happened, but it must have been before the 24th July; for on that day 16 Legues distant from the Island, a Quebec Mail for England, which was on board the *Active*, was delivered to A Mr Adam Murphy, Master of the Schooner *Camma*, to bring to this Office, for the purpose of its being Speedily forwarded to England, for which Service he and his Vessel were Impressed by the Officers of the *Active*; and I have to pay him Twenty Guineas for that Service— Lord Donhester and family were to be put on shore at *Gaspee*— Whether His Lordship will come here, or go to Newfoundland, to take the remainder of his Passage is, I believe, unknown here as yet.

His Majesty's Sloop of War *Shark*, arrived here Yesterday, in fifteen days from St. John's, Newfoundland, Express to Acquaint Admiral Murray, that there was, Cruising off that Coast, three Thirty Six's, and two Forty's, of the French—for which I suppose the Newfoundland Fleet are too Weak—and behold, no Admiral Murray is here; nor Ships Sufficient to pursue and engage those *Sans Culottes*!!—At this Season of the Year, this and the Coast of Newfoundland ought always to be well guarded, but never will be, I believe, as matters now are.— The Southern parts seem to hold out the best prospect for valuable prizes, and self, no doubt, preponderates with our Men of Warsmen, as well as land Citizens.— Many servants who are sent on business for their Masters, spend their time in doing their own: This their way, is their disobedience: nor do they seem to fear Punishment.— I hope they will meet it some time or other.

Why should the Death of Bishop Seabury discourage you from seeing your native Country again— Men in All Countries of all ages and in all Stations of life, must die—and the loss to the World, particular Societies and families, occasioned by Death, is always greater or less According to the usefulness of those persons who are taken away by that last enemy—

I hope that you, as Bishop of Vermont, will live in health, Strength of body and mind, and great usefulness to that people and to your own satisfaction and happiness in this life, for many years Yet to come; and be Crowned with eternal blessedness in that world which is yet before all those who now remain living inhabitants of this; which may the Almighty God of his infinite mercy, Grant.

I have just seen H. M. Peters, and told him what you say concerning the Bill he drew on you— He says he had your Orders, five years ago, to draw for that Money.

I never before heard that Mrs Ann Peters preferred *Spirit* to *flesh*, nor even *flesh*, beyond virtue— If liquid Spirit is by any means a favorite of hers, it hath always been a secret from me. Here is more than I expected I should be able to write at this time, tho' less than I wished, being perpetually hurried for want of more Assistance— I can therefore only say, that my family Join with mine their best Wishes for you and all your connections, and that my Mrs Peters, (Aged 64 Years this Day) is now almost out of hopes of ever having the pleasure of seeing you on this side of Heaven!

I am, Revnd and Dear Sir, Yours Always

J. PETERS.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN TEXAS DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

BY DuBOSE MURPHY.

As soon as the news of Lincoln's election reached the South in November, 1860, the murmur of threatened secession grew into an open tumult. But in spite of the impetuous action of South Carolina, it was by no means certain that the rest of the southern states would follow her out of the Union. President Buchanan appointed Friday, January 4, 1861, as a Day of Prayer and Fasting for the whole nation, and churches in the South as well as in the North observed the day with appropriate services.¹ Bishop Gregg, of Texas, set forth a special "Form of Prayer for the Times" together with a letter to his clergy "in view of the present alarmed and disturbing state of public affairs". On January 8, 1861, the Bishop published "a Pastoral Letter * * * on the dangers and duties of the eventful changes through which we were passing", and appealed for the revival of the "spirit of a *primitive fellowship*".²

As soon as Texas had formally seceded from the Union, Bishop Gregg issued another Pastoral Letter, directing the Clergy to substitute the words "Confederate States" for "United States" in the prayers for the President and Congress.³ But it soon became evident that it would be necessary to do more than amend the Book of Common Prayer. What effect was political separation to have upon ecclesiastical organization? The Protestant Episcopal Church had thus far weathered the storm of anti-slavery agitation which had split the Methodist and Baptist and Presbyterian Churches. But could it now stand the strain of secession and war?

Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, believed that the act of secession passed by the Legislature of his State had "removed our Dio-

¹J. B. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, (New York, 1912), p. 10.

²*Journal of the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Texas, 1861*, p. 21.

³*Ibid.*, 22, 23.

cese from within the pale of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States", and therefore "we must follow our nationality".⁴ He and Bishop Elliott, of Georgia, joined in writing a letter to all the Southern Bishops, proposing a meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, on July 3, 1861, in order that the Dioceses within the Confederacy might discuss and work out a common plan of action. There was no bitterness in this letter; but "political changes, forced upon us by stern necessity" required the southern Church to give serious consideration to the actual situation confronting it.⁵

Bishop Gregg communicated the contents of this letter to the Diocesan Convention which met in Austin on April 11, 1861, and recommended that the Diocese of Texas send three clergymen and three laymen to the meeting in Montgomery. These delegates need not be committed to any definite program; in fact, there were several courses of action which might be followed. Southern churchmen were by no means agreed on the best course of action, and a number of Bishops and clergy disapproved the proposal of Bishop Polk and Bishop Elliott. Likewise in the Texas Diocesan Convention there was opposition to the suggested step. The matter was referred to a special committee of three clergymen and two laymen. The Rev. Benjamin Eaton, of Galveston, presented a majority report, signed by all but one member of the committee, to the effect that the proposed meeting in Montgomery was premature and that there was no need for a division of the Church. The Rev. Lindsay P. Rucker, of Brenham, brought in a minority report, urging that the Convention proceed to the election of the delegates. When the matter came to a vote, the Convention was evenly divided; and the Bishop, as presiding officer, cast his vote in favor of the election of the delegates. Those chosen were the Rev. Benjamin Eaton, of Galveston, the Rev. Charles Gillette, of Austin, the Rev. L. H. Jones, of San Antonio, Mr. Peter W. Gray, of Houston, Mr. S.

⁴Bishop Polk's Pastoral Letter, January 30, 1861, in Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 15.

⁵Polk and Elliott's Letter, quoted by Bishop Gregg in his Annual Address to the Diocesan Convention, *Journal*, 1861, p. 29.

M. Swenson, of Austin, and Mr. A. M. Lewis. They were instructed to report back to the Convention of the Diocese, for ratification or rejection, any action taken by the meeting in Montgomery. It is worth noting that Eaton and Gillette had signed the majority report of the committee and were therefore known to be out of sympathy with any proposal to divide the Church.⁶ At the request of the Diocesan Convention, Bishop Gregg issued a circular letter, containing extracts from the letter of Bishops Polk and Elliott, and assuring the people of the Diocese of Texas that "whatever action may be taken, will be marked by calmness, moderation, and a spirit of peace and love. If it can be made to appear, that some bond of union may continue to exist * * * it will be ground of rejoicing".⁷

Meanwhile, hostilities had commenced, and the secession of more States had widened the breach between North and South. Bishop Meade, of Virginia, and Bishop Atkinson, of North Carolina, suggested a postponement of the meeting at Montgomery, in order that their Dioceses might be represented; and Bishop Gregg notified the Texas delegates that the Convention would be deferred. But, as it happened, the other Bishops had decided to proceed without delay. The meeting resolved itself into a Conference rather than a legislative body. A committee was appointed to draft a Constitution and body of Canons for the new Church, to be voted on at a Convention in Columbia, South Carolina, on October 16, 1861. Missionary aid was pledged to Bishop Gregg of Texas and to Bishop Lay, of Arkansas, whose appropriations from the Mission Board of the Church in the United States had been withdrawn as soon

⁶*Journal*, 1861, pp. 30-34. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 20-26, describes the differences of opinion in the Southern Church. For the Bishop's "casting vote" on the question of sending delegates to the Montgomery conference, see Gillette, *A Few Historic Records of the Church in the Diocese of Texas during the Rebellion* (New York, 1865), pp. 9-11. It is interesting to note that the Convention then passed a resolution "That in future, when a vote 'By orders' is called for, the Bishop be called upon to vote first". *Journal of the Convention of 1861*, p. 33.

⁷Bishop Gregg, *To the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Texas*, Austin, April 15, 1861.

as the Confederacy was formed. And a resolution was adopted, that "the secession of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee, from the United States and the formation by them of a new government, called the Confederate States of America, renders it necessary and expedient that the Dioceses within those States should form among themselves an independent organization".⁸

The die had been cast. And by October civil and military events made it evident that for the time being at least the southern Dioceses were part of a new nation. Bishop Gregg attended the meeting at Columbia, October 16-24, 1861; but no other delegate from Texas made the journey. The Convention adopted the proposed Constitution; and within a year seven southern Dioceses had ratified this instrument. Bishop Elliott, of Georgia, senior Bishop in the Confederacy, then issued a call for the First General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, to meet in Augusta, Georgia, on the second Wednesday in November, 1862.⁹ The Rev. E. A. Wagner, Rector of Christ Church, Houston, was the only deputy from Texas who attended the General Council. The meeting was occupied largely with routine matters. It adopted a body of canons and a Book of Common Prayer, which closely followed that of the Church in the United States. A Pastoral Letter was published, urging loyalty to the government in the war, and to the Church in her missionary work.¹⁰

⁸Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 28, 35, 37. *Journal of the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Texas*, 1862, pp. 13, 24-25.

⁹Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 54-55. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas were the first seven to ratify; Arkansas ratified in November, 1862; Florida in December, 1863; Tennessee and Louisiana held no Diocesan Convention until after the War.

¹⁰*Journal of the General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America*, 1862, pp. 13, 64, 118, 182, 188. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 55, 61-68; Bishop Cheshire says that Texas was the only Diocese not represented; but the *Journal of the General Council*, p. 13, shows that the Rev. Mr. Wagner was present, and Wagner reported on the proceedings of the General Council to the Diocesan Convention of Texas in 1863; see *Journal of the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Texas*, 1863, p. 16.

The Texas Diocesan Convention met in Houston on June 6, 1862, and adopted the Constitution of the Church in the Confederate States. Bishop Gregg expressed the hope that the formation of an independent Church in the Confederacy would be especially helpful to the development of home missions and to the work on behalf of the colored people. The Convention expressed the "heartfelt sympathy of the Church in this Diocese with the cause of our country", and requested the clergy to read to their congregations a full statement of the reasons which required the Diocese of Texas to acknowledge the Confederate Government and to follow that Government in forming an independent ecclesiastical organization. "This Convention simply adopts a principle of Catholic usage * * * the existence of a National church in every separate nation, while we retain the essential elements of unity with the Holy Catholic Church throughout the world".¹¹

Only two clergymen of the Diocese served as Chaplains in the Confederate Army. The Rev. Lucius H. Jones, Rector of St. Mark's Church, San Antonio, became Chaplain of the Fourth Texas Cavalry (Reily's Regiment). He was wounded while ministering to a dying soldier at Glorietta, in 1862; and finally died of malaria in October, 1863. The Rev. H. B. Monges, of Seguin, entered the Army towards the close of the war. Colonel James Reily, of Houston, commanding officer of the Fourth Texas Cavalry, was killed in action on the Bayou Teche, Louisiana, April 14, 1863. He had been a faithful communicant of Christ Church, Houston, and was the first layman from Texas to serve in the General Convention of 1850, when the Diocese of Texas was admitted to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.¹²

It was not long before the effects of war-time conditions began to appear in the official records of the Church. The Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church withdrew its appropriations from all the southern Dioceses early in 1861.

¹¹*Journal*, 1862, pp. 28, 33, 36-39.

¹²*Journal*, 1863, pp. 11, 27; 1864; p. 13. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 90-91. 105.

While the Confederate Church did its best to help the weaker Dioceses, there was an ever-increasing deficit in the Treasury of the Diocese of Texas. Bishop Gregg himself was the principal victim of this situation, and the deficit in payments on his salary was not finally wiped out until 1891.¹³ The University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, which the Diocese of Texas assisted in founding in 1857, had to be abandoned; and it was not until 1867 that this work could be resumed. "The Church suffers in common with our afflicted country," wrote the Rev. W. R. Richardson, of Huntsville (later known as 'Dean Richardson', of San Antonio), in 1862. The Rev. Benjamin Eaton, Rector of Trinity Church, Galveston, reported that "the members of the congregation have been driven from their homes by the fortunes of war, and the Church was closed on the 25th May last", (that is, 1862).¹⁴ Throughout the State there prevailed "extraordinary excitement * * * a state of things peculiarly unfavorable to the spiritual growth of the Church", said Bishop Gregg in 1861. And a year later the Bishop called attention to the dangers of the times, "peculiar and fiery temptations which war brings [and in particular] that of the *love of money* to which thousands have yielded * * * in raising to exorbitant rates the prices on articles of indispensable use".¹⁵ Evidently profiteers are not a modern invention!

Bishop Gregg was heartily in sympathy with the cause of the Confederacy and professed no doubts as to its eventual triumph. As late as 1864 he spoke of "the extraordinary success of our arms * * * and indications of peace not very remote". Often he mentioned, in his Journal, that he had taken part in a service of thanksgiving for a Confederate victory. In 1862 he said: "How far they [Northern Churchmen] have sympathized in this unholy and monstrous war of invasion, is not known;" they ought, of course, to have acknowledged the independence of the Confederacy at once. And

¹³*Journal*, 1861, p. 26; 1862, p. 20; 1863, pp. 11, 18-19; 1891, p. 22.

¹⁴*Journal*, 1862, pp. 43, 48.

¹⁵*Journal*, 1861, p. 24; 1862, p. 24; 1864, p. 12.

in 1863 he told the Convention of the Diocese that, while the Church must work and pray for the end of this war and of all wars, she must also protest against the "*injustice and wickedness*" of a war of invasion.¹⁶

Most of the clergy and laity of the Church in Texas fully agreed with the Bishop on this point. But the Rev. Charles Gillette, Rector of St. David's Church, Austin, did not see any justification for either political or ecclesiastical separation. The friction between Mr. Gillette and Bishop Gregg developed into a vigorous controversy and led to a voluminous correspondence, which was finally published in a booklet of 131 pages¹⁷ The immediate cause of the trouble was a prayer which Bishop Gregg had written for use in the services of the Church during the War. After a petition that God would give grace and wisdom to the leaders and protection to the soldiers, the prayer concluded:

"* * * grant that the unnatural war which has been forced upon us, may speedily be brought to a close, in the deliverance of thy people, in the restoration of peace, in the strengthening of our Confederate Government, that it may continue to flourish and prosper * * *."

Mr. Gillette did not much like the prayer, but said that he could use it except for "an assertion which I did not believe to be true"; that is, the clause "which has been forced upon us". Bishop Gregg therefore gave him permission to omit these words when reading the prayer.¹⁸

Mr. Gillette did not attend the Diocesan Conventions of 1862, 1863 or 1864. After the adjournment of the Convention of 1863, he received a letter from a group of the clergy,

¹⁶*Journal*, 1862, pp. 19, 27; 1863, pp. 8, 9, 13; 1864, p. 12. Bishop Gregg, *Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Texas* (Austin, 1863), p. 36.

¹⁷Charles Gillette, *A Few Historic Records of the Church in the Diocese of Texas during the Rebellion, together with a Correspondence between the Rt. Rev. Alexander Gregg, D. D., and the Rev. Charles Gillette, Rector of St. David's Parish, Austin*. New York (Gray and Green), 1865.

¹⁸Gillette, *A Few Historic Records*, etc., 12.

requesting him to use the omitted words in the interests of harmony. He made no reply. Thereupon, the Convention of 1864 adopted a resolution, asking the Bishop to withdraw permission to omit these words. Supported by this vote of the Convention and by a resolution of the Standing Committee, the Bishop announced in a public letter that he had reluctantly decided to withhold the aforesaid permission, "not to force the conscience of anyone—God forbid!—but with the fervent prayer and earnest hope that it may lead to uniformity in our public devotions at least, and to the promotion of the spirit of unity and peace".¹⁹

Mr. Gillette replied to this by saying that he could not yield, and would continue to leave out the objectionable words. This brought on more correspondence. Finally, on August 5, 1864, Mr. Gillette waived his rights and invited the Bishop to take charge of the services at St. David's "for the present" in the interests of harmony and peace. But letters continued to issue from the ready pens of both clergymen, until Bishop Gregg informed Mr. Gillette that he did not care to receive any more letters "unless * * * written in a proper strain" of deference and humility.²⁰

There were other irritating incidents also. Mr. Gillette assumed that certain portions of the Bishop's Annual Address of 1862 were aimed at him, and objected to reading to his congregation the Convention's official statement of sympathy for the Confederate cause. The Bishop yielded on that point. But a short time afterwards Bishop Gregg did not hear Mr. Gillette say "Amen" to a prayer of thanksgiving for the Confederate victories at Fredericksburg and Galveston, and that led to some twenty-five printed pages of correspondence.²¹ At last, in August, 1865, Mr. Gillette left Austin for the North with the intention of laying the whole controversy before the General Convention. With that purpose in mind, he published the whole correspondence together with his own story of

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 19, 83. *Journal*, 1864, pp. 14-16.

²⁰Gillette, *A Few Historic Records*, etc., 113-121.

²¹*Ibid.*, 17-19, 56-81.

the case. But the General Convention of 1865 was in no mood for such matters, as we shall see, and its *Journal* gives no indication that Mr. Gillette even introduced his petition.

There have been far too many occasions in the history of the Christian Church when the "spirit of a primitive fellowship" was conspicuous by its absence. All the more refreshing, therefore, is the story of the reconciliation between northern and southern Churchmen after the Civil War. In this story, the Diocese of Texas played a prominent and honorable part.

When it became evident that the Confederate States of America had ceased to exist, there was much discussion among the Episcopalians of the South as to the desirability of resuming ecclesiastical relations with their northern brethren. Some Southerners did not wish to re-unite; others feared that the Northerners would not accept them without humiliating conditions.²² Bishop Gregg was the first to take positive steps towards reunion.²³ In 1861 he had followed a definite principle—that of a separate National Church in each nation; in 1865 he simply accepted the logic of the same principle. On May 29, 1865, he issued a Pastoral Letter "in connection with the close of the war and the changes in our civil affairs". And a week later he instructed his clergy to pray for the President and Congress of the United States, in the public Services of the Church. To the Diocesan Convention which met on June 15, 1865, he suggested that steps be taken looking to "a return to our former ecclesiastical relations". The Convention adopted a series of resolutions "in accordance with the same principle and practice of the Church, by which it was guided before". The Diocese repealed its ratification of the Constitution of the Church in the Confederate States, and acknowledged the authority of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. It expressed the hope that a special meeting of the General Council of the

²²Bishop Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 202-238, gives an interesting account of the discussion of this point throughout the southern Church.

²³*Ibid.*, 182.

Confederate Church might be held in order to secure joint action on the part of all. But, without waiting for that, the Diocese of Texas proceeded to elect its full delegation to the General Convention, which was to meet in Philadelphia in October, 1865. That no bitterness was cherished toward Mr. Gillette is evident from the fact that he was chosen one of the clerical deputies.²⁴

Among the Church people of the South there had been real anxiety as to the nature of the welcome which they would receive from the North. But the deputies from Texas resolved to act in faith, trusting to the good will of their brethren; and, when the roll was called at the opening session of the General Convention, on October 4, 1865, the Rev. Benjamin Eaton of Galveston, the Rev. Charles Gillette, of Austin, and the Rev. John Owen, of Matagorda, and Messrs. Peter W. Gray, of Houston, and W. B. Grimes, answered when "Texas" was called upon. The next day, the deputations from Tennessee and North Carolina took their seats. Meanwhile, in the House of Bishops, Bishop Atkinson, of North Carolina, had been welcomed most cordially. Both Houses of the Convention defeated by large majorities a proposal to include in the Service of Thanksgiving for Peace a phrase which was needlessly offensive to the South. And, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Cummins, of Illinois, the House of Deputies passed a resolution,

"That this House offers its profound gratitude to God that we have among us our brethren, the Clerical and Lay Deputies from the Dioceses of Texas, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and that we recognize their presence in our midst as a token and pledge of the future and entire restoration of the union of the Church throughout the length and breadth of the land."²⁵

The General Council of the Church in the Confederate States met in Augusta, Georgia, in November, 1865. There

²⁴*Journal*, 1865, pp. 9-10, 20, 21, 24.

²⁵*Journal* of the General Convention of 1865, pp. 22-23, 32, 33-39. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 239-248.

was little for it to do but to set its house in order and arrange for an orderly termination of its existence. No further doubt or anxiety remained; and the final action of the Council was largely influenced by "the spirit of charity which prevailed in the * * * General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States at its late session in Philadelphia".²⁶ We may be thankful that this reconciliation was completed before the bitter days of the Reconstruction poisoned the springs of mutual trust and killed the desire for harmony and understanding.

Bishop Gregg was not able to make the journey to Philadelphia in 1865; but when he went North in January, 1866, to raise funds for his educational work in Texas, he "received at the hands of the Bishop of New York * * * and of the clergy and laity, the most cordial welcome, and every facility they could extend in the prosecution of my work". The Bishop was convinced that the spirit of fellowship and good will manifested at the General Convention and afterwards was "but one of the many and remarkable indications * * * of a deeply rooted and wide-spread desire * * * for a return to *that unity*"²⁷ of the whole Christian Church which has always been the purpose of its Founder.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The foregoing account of the Diocese of Texas in the Civil War is based primarily upon the *Journals* of the Annual Convention of the Diocese for the years 1861 through 1866, the *Journals* of the General Council of the Church in the Confederate States, 1862 and 1865, and the *Journal* of the Convention of 1865. Other primary sources which have been used are:

Bishop Gregg, Circular letter *to the Clergy and Laity of the*

²⁶*Journal* of the General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the (late) Confederate States of America, 1865, p. 17.

²⁷*Journal* of the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Texas, 1866, pp. 21, 28.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Texas, Austin, Texas, April 15, 1861.

Bishop Gregg, *Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Texas*, 1863.

Rev. Charles Gillette, *A Few Historic Records of the Church in the Diocese of Texas during the Rebellion, together with a correspondence between the Rt. Rev. Alexander Gregg, D. D., and the Rev. Charles Gillette, Rector of St. David's Parish, Austin*, 1865.

Also, Bishop Cheshire's *The Church in the Confederate States* (New York, Longsman's, 1912), has been used with great profit.

MESSAGE FROM THE BISHOP OF NEW YORK

THE PUBLICATION of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is a most interesting and important undertaking. Such a journal is urgently needed in the life of our Church and should be of great value.

I wish the Magazine every success and hope that it may be read widely by our clergy and people.

WILLIAM T. MANNING,
Bishop of New York.

THE MARYLAND DIOCESAN LIBRARY—A MINE OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

BY WYLLYS REDE, D. D.

Bishop Whittingham was a prelate of the old school, now well-nigh extinct. He inherited enough of puritanism to give him strength of character. He was genuinely pious and deeply religious. He was an ecclesiastical statesman and an influential factor in the legislative and executive affairs of our American Church. But, above all, he was an original and independent thinker, a scholar of wide and accurate erudition, and an ardent lover of books.

During the four years (1836-1840) when he was Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the General Theological Seminary, and throughout his long episcopate of forty years in Maryland (1840-1879) he was a diligent and untiring student of the world's greatest and best literature. He valued and loved books not only for the interesting material and the sound learning which they contained, but he prized them *as books*.

He became a connoisseur in books. The accumulation of books became his hobby, his most absorbing pursuit. He ransacked the world for rare and valuable volumes suitable for the library of a theologian. One of the greatest accomplishments of his long and laborious lifetime was the noble collection of some 17,000 volumes to which he gave a generous expenditure of his time and thought and means. In his last will and testament he bequeathed it to the Diocese of Maryland, "To be held and administered as part of the Episcopal Fund, upon the understanding and agreement that, as far as possible, it shall be secured forever for the use of the Bishop of Maryland and his successors as an Episcopal Library".

The value and importance of this rich bequest do not depend chiefly upon the number of volumes which it contains, although (so far as we can learn) it is the largest and most valuable diocesan library in the whole Anglican Communion. They depend rather upon the wide range and variety of its

contents, their age, their rarity, their intrinsic interest, and the sound and solid learning which they contain.

It covers with admirable fulness the whole broad field of biblical, ecclesiastical, liturgical, and critical learning. It provides ample apparatus for the study of comparative religion, theology, and ecclesiastical history from the earliest ages to the present day, from Moses to Bishop Gore and Dean Inge. It includes all the writings of the Fathers of the Church, Greek, Latin, and Oriental, both in the original and in the best translations, including such rare and valuable collections as *Migne's Patrologie*, the *Expistolae Orthodoxographorum Theologorum Latinorum* (Vienna 1645), the *Breviarium Gothicorum* (1775), and the *Biographie Universelle* (Paris 1811, 52 vols.). The whole history of the Jewish and the Christian Church is covered exhaustively up to date.

There are scores of splendid volumes, famous for their beauty and rarity, brilliantly illuminated Vulgates of 1478 and 1480, the *Breeches Bible* and the *Vinegar Bible*, the *Liege Missal* and *Bodoni Sallust*, the grand *Adam Lactantius* (Venice 1471), the *Index Expurgatorius* of 1608, of which only two copies exist, and the *Malleus Mallificarum*. The most famous of the early printers, both European and American, are well represented. Froben, Plantin, Aldus, Caxton, the Elzevirs, and the Americans Parks, Reading, Green, and Benjamin Franklin. Nearly all the editions of the English Bible, with the English, Irish, Scotch, and American Prayer Books, are included, with a vast collection of 10,000 hymns, ancient and modern. This great Collection would in itself constitute a notable library. But there was more to follow.

The Rev. Dr. Dalrymple was a contemporary and an intimate associate of Bishop Whittingham. He was a profound and accomplished scholar and an ardent bibliophile. He was the Provost of the University of Maryland and his life was largely devoted to scholastic pursuits. He was unmarried and was possessed of considerable means, which he expended freely in the purchase of rare and beautiful books. His valuable library of 9,000 volumes became the property of the Diocese

at his death. It contains a wealth of Classical Literature in the Latin, Greek, and French languages. The great literatures of Greek and Rome are all here, many of them in rare and sumptuous editions, amongst them the Valpy edition of the Latin authors. Here are the Bollandist edition of the *Acta Sanctorum* in 55 great volumes, Tillemont's *Histoire Ecclesiastique* in 36 folio volumes (Paris 1693), the *Encyclopedia Methodique* in 187 volumes (Paris 1787), with sumptuous sets of Froissart's and Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The Collection is also very rich in the magazine literature, secular and ecclesiastical, of the 18th and 19th centuries.

As the years have lengthened, these great Collections have been supplemented by smaller donations and by purchase. The Maryland Diocesan Library, in which they have been fused, now numbers 34,000 volumes. The Whittingham and some of the most rare and valuable books in the Dalrymple Collection are held as a reference library and do not go into circulation, but they can be freely consulted by visitors, scholars, and authors. The remainder of the library, including some 15,000 volumes in all branches of literature, is freely at the service of the public. Its contents are loaned freely to anyone who wishes to use them. It is richly stored with biography, history (including the Christian Church in all ages and lands), and with general literature up to date.

It has been asserted upon highly competent authority that the History of our American Church cannot be fully and adequately written without recourse to the Maryland Diocesan Library. This assertion seems to be well founded. It is the especial purpose of this article to set forth some of the grounds for this conviction and to make them better known.

One of the most cherished purposes of those by whom the Library has been brought into existence and built up has been the accumulation and preservation of the materials for the making of American History. Circumstances have combined to make this laudable endeavor a success. The result is an unparalleled assemblage of historical materials, which is of inestimable value to the student of ecclesiastical history. Many

of them are unique and priceless. Others are so rare as to be of notable importance. There is a rich store of autographs, letters, documents, manuscripts, record books, pamphlets, and early and rare printed books and magazines, which are of the utmost value as source materials for the early history of the American Colonies, especially Maryland and Virginia, and of the United States. They shed much light, sometimes a new light, upon the struggles and controversies in Church and State through which the American people have passed. Naturally, the source materials for the compilation of a full and true history of the American Episcopal Church preponderate in such a library. Some of them are listed and briefly described herewith:

Source Materials for the History of the American Episcopal Church.

The Allen Manuscript—The Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen was a descendant of the Revolutionary patriot of that name. The greater part of his life (1819-1879) was spent in Baltimore County, chiefly in the rectorship of St. Thomas' and St. John's Churches. He was the Historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland. Throughout his long life Dr. Allen was a tireless collector of documents and letters and an indefatigable explorer of civil and ecclesiastical records in search of materials for his History of the Church in Maryland, covering the years from 1632 to 1873. He collected a great store of these, which became the property of the Diocesan Library. They fill four volumes, which are packed with a varied assortment of miscellaneous information, which he had gathered from various sources and in great detail. They are written in a "fine Italian hand", which is often difficult to read. For these reasons they have been consulted by very few investigators. They would need to be carefully edited before being put into print. One volume has been photostated, and the others will soon be given a like treatment, which will make them much more easily readable and accessible to investigators without danger to the original manuscripts.

Historical Notices of St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis, by Ethan Allen, D. D. St. Anne's Church has had a long and honorable history, beginning in 1649 and, being located at the State Capital, has always been an influential parish. Dr. Allen's history of it is replete with information as to its early years, its personnel, its influence upon Church and State in Maryland, and the long line of clergy who have presided over it. As a State Church in the midst of a bitterly puritan population, it had peculiar problems to solve and serious difficulties to overcome.

The Garrison Church, Sketches of the History of St. Thomas' Parish, Garrison Forest, Baltimore County, Maryland, 1742-1852, by Ethan Allen, D. D., edited by the Rev. Hobart Smith. This is a full, adequate, and altogether delightful history of a typical Colonial parish, profusely illustrated and well documented, a living picture of such a church and its people.

Maryland Toleration, Sketches of the Early History of Maryland, by the Rev. Ethan Allen, to the year 1650. This has long been one of the vexed problems in American Religious History. It has never been handled more open-mindedly, judiciously, and authoritatively than in this treatise. It is safe to say that no adequate understanding of it can be gained without an acquaintance with this valuable treatise. It is not controversial but informative. The author undertook not to prove an hypothesis, but to make known (as nearly possible) all the facts.

The Allen Collection of Letters and Documents. This vast and voluminous Collection was the crowning achievement of Dr. Allen's busy life. It fills thirty-six large quarto volumes, each of them from two to four inches in thickness. These bulky volumes are filled with autograph letters written and signed by all the Bishops of our American Episcopal Church throughout its whole history, in which naturally the letters of the Bishops of Maryland predominate. There are 109 letters from Bishop White, 86 from Bishop Claggett, 40 from Bishop Hobart, 140 from Bishop Kemp, 2 from Bishop Seabury, 3

from Bishop Madison, 31 from Bishop Chase, 32 from Bishop Moore, 68 from Bishop McIlvaine, 15 From Bishop Onderdonk, 9 from Bishop Brownell, 17 from Bishop Kemper, 13 from Bishop Stone, and so on down the list to the present day. The Correspondence of the Bishops of Maryland is of course far more voluminous than that of the others. There are 440 letters written to Bishop Claggett, and those addressed to Bishop Whittingham fill two large volumes. These letters cover a wide range of topics. They shed light upon many of the problems, movements, and controversies of their day and generation. They offer unusual opportunities for biographical and historical research. There are also many letters from Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, and eminent Laymen in England, Scotland, Ireland, and in the United States. There is, for instance, the full correspondence between Bishop Kemp and Francis Scott Key relating to his proposed ordination, and their later controversy in regard to lay baptism. There are letters from General Washington, Archbishop Carroll, Commodore Decatur, President John Adams, Colonel Tench Tilghman, Hugh Davey Evans, Rossiter Johnson, and Dr. Pusey. There is the correspondence leading up to the consecration of Bishop Claggett, the first Bishop ever consecrated in America, with the Letters of Orders authorizing his consecration, and the mitre which he was accustomed to wear. This remarkable Collection should be better known and more widely used. It is hoped that it may soon be made available to all who wish to consult it.

The Callister Letters. They were written by Henry Callister from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, during the years 1741 to 1766, to his friends and relatives in England and America. They are a rich mine of information as to life and conduct in the American Colonies. He was a man of keen and cultivated intelligence, a close observer of men and affairs, with a wide and intimate knowledge of conditions at home and abroad. He was well acquainted with the Colonial Governors of Maryland, Thomas Bladen, Samuel Ogle, and Benjamin Tasker. He was an intimate friend of Governor

Horatio Sharpe, and of Robert Morris, the Financier of the American Revolution. These letters contain source material relating to the Acadian Refugees in Maryland, the social, educational, and religious life of the colonists, and the interesting and important events and developments occurring in the Colonies.

His most intimate friend and crony was the Rev. Thomas Bacon, like himself a native of the Isle of Man, a gentleman and a scholar, who played a very influential and important part in the social and religious life of the Colony. They carried on a voluminous correspondence, which is included in this Collection. Both parties expressed themselves with the utmost frankness. Dr. Bacon was the author of several valuable books, which are now very rare, but are preserved in the Library. His great folio volume was entitled "*The Laws of Maryland*". It was an epoch-making book and was one of the finest pieces of printing ever done in America. It must be remembered that in colonial times the laws related quite as much to the Church as to the State. He organized the first charity-school in the Colonies and was also a pioneer in preaching to the colored people and instructing their masters and mistresses how to bring them up in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. These sermons and all his writings are preserved in the Library.

The *Callister Letters* fill 850 quarto pages. They have been photostated and are now at the service of authors and investigators.

The Duke Diary, Observations on the State of Religion in Maryland, and Hymns. William Duke was ordained by Bishop Seabury in 1785 and was actively engaged in various forms of religious and educational work in Maryland for 58 years. Few men of his generation were so well qualified to tell us what life was in those days. He kept an elaborate Diary, in which he recorded not only his own doings, but also those of his friends and neighbors in minute detail, with many shrewd and amusing comments. It is an intimate revelation of the daily life and experience of a Maryland pastorate covering half

a century (1774-1825). His *Thoughts on Repentance, Clew to Religious Truth, Observations on the Present State of Religion in Maryland* (1795), and his *Hymns and Poems* catch the spirit of those revolutionary days and reveal the character of Christianity which was prevalent. They are now very rare, but they are all in the Library, mostly in their original format. The *Diary* fills two large quarto volumes of manuscript. It has not yet been photostated and has been seen by very few.

The Church in Virginia. The Library contains abundant materials from which the religious history of Virginia can be written. There are the Journals of the Diocesan Convention, the Acts of Assembly, and the standard histories. There are others which are rare, for instance, *Burke's History of Virginia* from the first settlement to the present day, *Howe's Historical Collections*, *Hawks' Rise and Progress of The Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia*, *Bishop Meade's Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, and the *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*. In addition to these the Library has a rare and fine copy of *Smith's History from the First Discovery and Settlement* (1747), and *Beverly's History and Present State of Virginia* (1722). Beverly married the daughter of William Byrd, of Westover, of whose *Manuscripts* the Library contains a fine set. In addition to these there are detailed histories and monographs of many of the old Virginia parishes.

The Church in the Confederate States. The Library has a large amount of biographical and historical material, in manuscript and in print, in regard to the Church in the Confederate States, culminating in Bishop Cheshire's definitive *History of the Church in the Confederate States*. It is also the fortunate professor of several rare volumes of considerable interest. There is a Prayer Book of the Confederate Church (1863), and another of the same date, published in England, in which Bishop Whittingham wrote the following inscription: "Thrown overboard from a rebel vessel, picked up at sea, and given to me by Captain Ridgeley, March, 1865." Another copy was formerly the possession of Bishop Cheshire. A vol-

ume of keen and permanent interest contains in their own handwriting the forms of prayer and devotion of nearly all our Bishops, both north and south, for use in their various dioceses during the War between the States. In addition to these there is a large Collection of the letters, papers, and sermons of Bishop Atkinson, the great ecclesiastical statesman to whose wise and skillful efforts at conciliation it is chiefly due that our American Church has preserved that peace and unity which is agreeable to our Lord, and was not split wide asunder, as most other religious bodies were. It is hoped that out of this source material some competent author and scholar will create an adequate and enduring biography of Bishop Atkinson.

The Origins of Methodism. There is abundant information in the Library regarding the early days of Methodism in England and in the Colonies. A full and informative history of the Methodist Movement could be written from the books and manuscripts which it contains. There are the Journal of Asbury 1771-1815, and that of John Wesley 1739-1790 in four volumes, with all the published writings of the brothers John and Charles. Of especial interest are the rare copies of *The Sunday Services of Methodists with Other Occasional Services* (London 1792), and *The Sunday Services of the Methodists in North America* (London 1784). The latter contains an autographic introduction in the handwriting and with the signature of John Wesley, Bristol, September 9, 1784, which contains this notable declaration: "I believe there is no Liturgy in the World, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety than the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. And, though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree."

REVIEWS.

ARTHUR C. A. HALL, THIRD BISHOP OF VERMONT. *By George Lynde Richardson, D. D., Dean of the Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, New York, with an introduction by Rt. Rev. Philip Mercer Rhinelander, D. D., and with illustrations.* Boston and New York. Houghton Mifflin Company. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1932.

For many years Bishop Hall of Vermont was one of the outstanding leaders of life and thought in the American Church. He was greatly gifted in many ways—a careful and lifelong student; a brilliant expositor who made notable contributions to devotional New Testament literature; a penetrating preacher. Perhaps his greatest gift was that of a spiritual director. He was at his best in conducting Retreats and in personal dealing with penitent and troubled souls. Born of privileged parents in England, he passed to Oxford, where at Christ Church he came under the influence of Liddon. There were great men in the Oxford of that day—Wilberforce was Bishop; Benjamin Jowett was at Balliol; Lewis Carroll, famous for his *Alice in Wonderland*, was living in the college and Canon Bright was teaching ecclesiastical history. These men, together with Richard M. Benson, founder of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, were the formative influences in the life of the future bishop. He never lost the Oxford impress. The net result was a determination to become a Cowley Father and in 1873 he came to the United States and after a brief ministry at Bridgeport, was sent to Boston to assist Father Grafton at the Church of the Advent. From thence he had an interesting experience as a missionary in the far North. When the S. S. J. E. purchased the old Church of the Advent in Boston Father Hall returned to Boston and commenced a memorable ministry in that city and laid the foundations of what proved to be an intimate friendship with Philips Brooks; likewise with Dr. Huntington, rector of Grace Church, New York. Brooks described him as “radically English”, and added, “when he came to explain his ideas upon the Holy Communion, he talked in a language which I really could not understand”. But between the two men there were deep spiritual affinities which far transcended theological differences. Recalled to England whither he went in company with his colleague, Charles H. Brent, Father Hall remained there until his election as Bishop of Vermont. All these outstanding facts have been woven together with unerring skill by Dean Richardson in this biography. It is admirably proportioned; marked by discriminating judgment, keen sympathy and expressed in perfect English. The controversial episodes are handled impar-

tially, especially Father Hall's action in relation to the election and confirmation of Philips Brooks as Bishop of Massachusetts. Hall did not vote for Brooks, though he "believed him to be sound in the faith and loyal, in all essentials, to the Church". Nevertheless, having been chosen by the diocese, the Cowley monk signed the testimonial, and as a member of the Standing Committee voted to confirm the election. This, together with his advocacy of the creation of an independent Society of St. John the Evangelist for America, resulted in his removal as Provincial Superior in the United States. This book will stand in the front rank of the lengthening list of Episcopal biographies. It is an excellent piece of work; a well-rounded picture of a man who was at once a scholar, a teacher and truly a modern saint.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

HISTORY OF ALL SAINTS' PARISH IN FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND. 1742-1932. *By Ernest Helfenstein, Registrar of the Parish.* Marken & Bielfeld, Incorporated, Frederick, Maryland. 1932.

In the year 1742 certain churchmen in the Parish of Prince George, in the county of that name, petitioned the Assembly for a division of the Parish. The ground of the petition was that it "is so vastly large, being about ninety miles in length and populous, and the Parish at so great a distance from your petitioners that it is not in their power to attend the church or receive the benefit therefrom they would". The petition was granted and All Saints' was created by an act of the Assembly in 1742. It is now the mother Parish of Western Maryland. With painstaking care the author of this little volume has traced out the history of the Parish from its beginnings to the present day, including biographical sketches of the successive rectors. He has done well to reprint the Oath of Abjuration found in the Parish records and which wardens and vestrymen were required to sign. The last clause runs as follows:

"We, the subscribers, do Declare that we do Believe that there is not an Transsubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lords supper or in the Eliments of Bread and Wine at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever."

The author relieves the dry facts of history with some human touches, notably in the sketch of the Rev. Thomas Bacon, rector of the Parish in 1758. Mr. Bacon was an accomplished musician and in making his pastoral calls carried his flute in his saddle-bags and was by no means averse to dancing and a game of cards. This book lacks but one thing—an index.

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NOTICES

All communications, including manuscripts and books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Garrison, N. Y.

The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Volume I

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No. 3

THE JARVIS PAPERS.

Note by the Editor.

These are the Papers of Reverend Abraham Jarvis, later second Bishop of Connecticut. For several years they were in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Lucy Jarvis, (Mrs. Smith), daughter of the Reverend Samuel Farmer Jarvis, sometime rector of Brooklyn, Connecticut. Up to now they have never been available for publication, and no one, save the custodian, had knowledge of their contents. About two years ago they were purchased by the Reverend Doctor Howard Chandler Robbins, who has generously given permission to *The Historical Magazine* to use them. The Ebenezer Diblee Letters to Dr. Peters, published in our last number, were part of the Papers, as are the Leaming Letters which begin in this issue.

Abraham Jarvis had unique opportunity to preserve sources of the history of this Church, not only in Connecticut, but in the Church at large. He was born at Norwalk, Connecticut, May 5th, 1739 (O. S.). After pursuing studies under the Rev. Noah Welles, a noted Congregational minister, he entered Yale and graduated in 1761. Three years later he was ordered Deacon by Keppel, Bishop of Exeter, and Priest by Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle. On August 1st, 1764, he became rector of Christ Church, Middletown.

As secretary of the Diocesan Convention he was present at the secret meeting of the clergy at Woodbury, when first Leaming and then Seabury was selected to go to England to

seek the episcopate. The testimonial Seabury carried with him bore the signature of Jarvis, as did the important letter addressed to the Archbishop of York pleading the case of the American Church. During his stay in London Seabury again and again turned to Jarvis for counsel and addressed many letters to him which have been found in these Papers.

It is not possible to list the Papers in detail; only the more important ones can be mentioned.

They are amazingly rich in correspondence. First and foremost are the Seabury letters written from London and Scotland. The most important one has never been published. Then come the Diblee letters and the Leaming correspondence with Samuel Peters. Other letters are from Bishop William White, Dr. Myles Cooper (former President of King's College), Samuel Parker, (afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts), the Archdeacon of St. Alban's, England, Rev. Bela Hubbard and others, including one written by Bishop Arthur Petrie, one of the Scotch consecrators of Seabury. Many valuable Papers concern Bishop Jarvis himself. One is his oration at Yale in 1759, bearing his own signature; another is his declaration of conformity at ordination witnessed by the Bishop of London. Here also is the official notification of his election as Bishop of Connecticut, dated June 7, 1797, and his appointment as Grand Chaplain of the Masonic Order in the State of Connecticut, signed by the Grand Master and dated June 1, 1798. Included in the Papers are the minutes of the conventions of the clergy of Connecticut in the years 1766, 1784, 1785; in connection with the latter is a copy of the Address presented to Bishop Seabury by his clergy and his reply thereto; also the record of Seabury's first ordinations signed by Jarvis. An interesting sheet contains a draft of proposed Canons for the diocese, dated 1790.

Of great value are the manuscript Minutes of meetings of the clergy of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire held respectively on September 8, 1784, September 7 and 8, 1785, and July 20, 1786. The second of these conventions, at which laymen were present, took up the question of

the adaption of the English Prayer Book to American conditions. It is an invaluable source for a study of the evolution of our Book of Common Prayer.

Other documents set forth in detail the Prayer Book alterations agreed upon by the clergy of Connecticut on August 5, 1785.

Enough has been here written to indicate the extraordinary value of these "Jarvis Papers" and their bearing upon the history of this Church. It is an imperative duty to have them carefully edited, documented and published in book form.

LETTERS OF THE REVEREND DOCTOR JEREMIAH
LEAMING TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR SAM-
UEL PETERS, LOYALIST REFUGEE IN
LONDON, AND ONE TIME BISHOP
ELECT OF VERMONT.*

(FROM THE JARVIS PAPERS)

With Introduction and Notes by the Editor.

THE REVEREND DOCTOR JEREMIAH LEAMING.

Jeremiah Leaming was born at Middletown,¹ Connecticut, in 1717, being baptized on May 12th, by the Reverend Nathaniel Chauncey, "pastor of the first church in Durham". His father, Jeremiah, was married to Abigail Turner by a Justice of the Peace on July 4th, 1716. He graduated from Yale in 1745. During his college course he came under the influence of the Reverend Doctor Samuel Johnson, later President of King's College, New York, and the young student followed Dr. Johnson's example by forsaking Congregationalism for the Church of England. During this period he officiated as a lay reader at Norwalk, Connecticut.

On August 2nd, 1746, the rector and vestry of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, addressed a letter to the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts asking that there be sent over "a proper person episcopally ordained" to be a schoolmaster, and that he be also appointed catechist and assistant to the rector. The Society directed them to consult the Reverend Doctor Samuel Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut, in order that he might choose out of the young gentlemen educated at New Haven a fit person

*It will be observed that a few of these Letters are not signed and others are signed "Eusebius", a non de plume used by Leaming on other occasions. In each case, however, Peters notes them as received from Leaming.

¹Some authorities say Durham which was adjacent to Middletown.

for these offices "and agreed to appoint the one so chosen to assist Mr Honyman in the care of his very large and interesting congregation, not of whites alone, but of blacks also; no less than twelve of the latter sort having been admitted members of it, by the holy sacrament of Baptism, within the last twelve months".² Evidently Dr. Johnson recommended Jeremiah Leaming, for under date of April 4th, 1748, "It was unanimously resolved by the Vestry of Trinity Church, Newport, that Mr Jeremiah Leaming be forthwith sent to London at the expense of the Church to take Holy Orders".³ He was ordered Deacon by the Bishop of Llandaff on June 5th, 1748, and advanced to the priesthood on the 19th day of the same month by the Bishop of Winchester. The records of Trinity Church of September 29, 1748, state that "The Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, having produced his orders as Deacon and Priest, and a letter being produced from the Rev. Dr Bearecroft, Sec'y to the Hon'ble Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, signifying that the said Society did approve of the said Mr Leaming for a schoolmaster and assistant to the Rev. Mr Honyman, this Vestry is fully satisfied with the vouchers produced, and does admit and receive the said Mr Leaming in his capacity aforesaid".⁴ In 1749 and 1750 he is down in the Reports of the S. P. G. for a grant of ten pounds and from 1753 to 1758 this was increased to twenty pounds.

On July 2nd, 1750, the Reverend James Honyman, for nearly fifty years missionary in Rhode Island, died. It was thereupon "Voted: that the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming officiate as Minister of Trinity Church, above s^d, and that he receive from the Church Wardens out of the weekly contributions £4 per week, for officiating as minister of said Church, during the time he performs that duty; and when he takes an usher into his service at school, he shall have as much more from

²Udike, *History of the Episcopal Church in Naragansett, Rhode Island*, Vol. III, pp. 76-77.

³*Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 620.

⁴Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island*, 1698-1821. First Series, p. 89.

said congregation as (with the above £4 per week) will pay said usher's salary, until we are supplied with a settled minister for said Church".⁵

The Parish Register of St. Paul's Church, Naragansett, has the following entry: "On y^e 22^d day of January, A. D. 1758, the Reverend Mr Jeremiah Leaming of Newport preached at St. Paul's Church, and after service was ended, y^e Congregation was requested to stay to Consult about sending to y^e Honourable the Society (S. P. G.) Requesting that they Send us a Missionary and to continue their Bounty to said Parish". Five days later John Case and John Gardiner churchwardens, addressed the Society asking for the appointment of Mr Leaming as missionary at Naragansett.

Apparently this plan failed and in 1758 Mr. Leaming was appointed missionary of the S. P. G. at Norwalk, Connecticut, where he ministered for more than twenty years.

Like most of his clerical associates Leaming was a strong Loyalist. When Norwalk was taken by the British much of his property was destroyed. His later letters show that three farms—one of 70 acres at Middletown, one of 40 acres at Norwalk and one of 44 acres at Farmington—were seized by the enemy. In addition a house he owned at Boston was razed to make room for fortifications. Though he escaped with his life, he was subjected to great personal indignity. Writing to the S. P. G. on September 29, 1776, the Reverend Samuel Seabury recites his own experiences during the Revolution and adds, "Mr Leaming has been taken up by the rebels, but was dismissed in a few hours".⁶ Worse was to follow. A mob forcibly entered his house, seized his portrait and nailed it to a post head downward. Charged with being a "Tory", he was carried to Fairfield County jail; thrust into a damp cell and denied the comfort of a bed. As a result a severe cold settled in his hip and he was a cripple for the rest of his life. Deprived of his property and means of a livelihood, Leaming went to New York and existed on a meagre estate belonging

⁵Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, 1698-1821*. First Series, pp. 94-95.

⁶Hawkins, *Missions of the Church of England*, p. 306.

to his wife. Writing from New York on July 29, 1779, he said,

"On the 11th instant, by the unavoidable event of the operation of His Majesty's troops, under the command of General Tryon, my church and great part of my parish were laid in ashes, by which I have lost everything I had there—my furniture, books and all my papers, even all my apparel, except what was on my back. My loss on that fatal day was not less than twelve or thirteen hundred pounds sterling. Although in great danger, my life has been preserved; and I hope I shall never forget the kind providence of God in that trying hour".⁷

After his enforced residence in New York Mr. Leaming returned to Connecticut and at Easter, 1784, was appointed missionary at Stratford where he served until 1790. He afterwards lived in retirement at New Haven.

During the critical years for the Church in Connecticut, covered by the Revolution and the election and consecration of Samuel Seabury, three presbyters stand out prominently as leaders and close friends—Jeremiah Leaming, Bela Hubbard and Abraham Jarvis, later second Bishop of the State. They were men of character and conviction; trusted by their clerical brethren; the advisers and confidants of their bishop. Tireless in their labors, they endured the hardness of persecution and by their patience and perseverance won liberty for the Church in Connecticut. Of the three, Leaming was the elder and leader.

On the Feast of the Annunciation some of the clergy of the State met in secret at Woodbury to select one of their number to proceed to England for consecration to the episcopate. Leaming had long recognized the necessity for episcopal supervision. On September 29, 1763, he wrote the Society saying, "I hope there will be means found out to support the Church in this Government, otherwise I fear there will be no religion here in the next generation. In order that it might be supported

⁷Udike, *History of the Church in Naragansett*, Vol. I, p. 304.

in the purity of it, there is great need of a Bishop to confirm, ordain, and govern. Every Body wants a head".⁸

Twenty years elapsed before this dream was made possible. But when the Connecticut clergy met it is on record that "all eyes turned to the venerable Leaming". He was their first choice. Seabury himself, writing to the S. P. G. said that Mr. Jarvis, secretary of the Convention, was directed "to try to prevail on the Rev. Mr. Leaming or me to undertake a voyage to England, and endeavor to obtain Episcopal consecration for Connecticut".⁹ He adds, "Mr. Leaming declined on account of his age and infirmities". This latter statement, which has been followed by all writers on the history of this episode, must now of necessity be modified in the light of these Leaming letters now for the first time available for publication. Writing under date of June 1, 1786, to Dr. Peters, Leaming says, "You ask me why I was not B^p of Con^t. I was B^p Elect; by vote of the clergy here; but fearing the Chh might suffer under my poor Abilities, caused me to answer, *Nolo Episcopare*. Had I known that Dr S had so many personal Enemies, I should not have given the answer I did. This is under the Rose; and you force me to say that, which I did not wish to be repeated". On November 9, 1787, in another letter he again refers to the matter saying, "Every thing ought to be so easy, when it is so easy to be made a B^p and so easy to conduct y^t Business after they are made. Had I known this before, I should not have been so diffident as I have been".

On two other occasions the episcopate knocked at his door. After the consecration of Seabury the clergy of Connecticut were greatly disturbed by the trend of events in the American Church outside New England. When they met in Convention at Wallingford on February 27, 1787, it was determined to elect a coadjutor to Seabury "in order to obtain the canonical number of bishops in New England of the Scottish line, and thus preserve a purely primitive and Apostolic

⁸Hawkins, *Missions of the Church of England*, p. 318.

⁹Beardsley, *History of the Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I, p. 347.

Church, holding fast the form of sound words, and the faith once delivered to the saints".¹⁰ Once again Leaming was chosen but this time ill health compelled him to decline. Mansfield shrank from the burden and finally Abraham Jarvis was selected. By dint of patience and mutual forbearance the difficulties between the Church in New England and in what was then known as the 'Southern States' were smoothed over and the project for the consecration of another bishop in the Scottish line was dropped. In 1792 it was planned to elect Leaming Bishop of New Jersey. On June 5 he writes to Dr. Peters, "They (the Jerseys) have determined to nominate me for the Bp of that State; provided they do, and will comply with my requisitions, I will form them into a true primitive Chh—". How the plan failed he describes in a letter of July 6: "You ask why I am not consecrated a Bp? I answer, because I did not desire it. The Clergy in the Jerseys, saw their Chhs going to Ruins, without a Bp; and upon first thought, supposed I was the only person who could prevent it: but upon more mature deliberation found out, that there was not a Clergyman in that State who was not well qualified for that Office. And yet there was not one, to whom any one of them, would give his vote: except for himself, which they all did, one excepted. You ask if I did not wish for 'Bps bench in Heaven'? I answer; If I may be so happy as to obtain the lowest seat in Heaven; it will be more than I deserve: and can only hope to obtain it, thro the Propitiation and Intercession of my Blessed Redeemer".

Dr. Leaming was the outstanding presbyter in Connecticut. His name was attached to the testimonial Seabury carried with him to England, and time and again he presided in the conventions of the clergy prior to the consecration of the bishop. In 1784 he was entrusted with the delicate task of obtaining an assurance from the State Assembly that no objection would be taken to the settlement of a bishop in Connecticut, and he preached the sermon at the first ordination in the American Church. In 1789 he was elected a clerical deputy

¹⁰Beardsley, *History of the Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I, p. 399.

to the General Convention and the following year he drafted the canons of the diocese of Connecticut.

The letters addressed to Dr. Peters bear ample witness to the soundness of his churchmanship. He was profoundly convinced of the necessity of what he calls "a pure, free, valid episcopate", and to obtain it he spared no effort. In 1786 he published his *Defence of the Episcopal Government of the Church*, and when his position was challenged by Noah Wells, the Puritan preacher, he replied with *A Second Defence*. It was well said of him that "he was regular in the performance of ministerial duties, and always set forth the Christian Religion in connection with the Episcopal Church; and well understood the defence of her authority, doctrines and worship", and with equal truth it was added, "He is indeed a tried servant of the Church, and carries about him in a degree the marks of a confessor". He was absolutely fearless, but not always diplomatic; clear in his thinking, pungent in speech. When he thought truth was at stake he spared neither friend nor foe. He was a battle-scarred warrior; the "intrepid champion of the Church of God".

On August 6th, 1790, he wrote Peters saying, "I am not able to do the duty of my parish, or that I shall be soon; and I should not chuse to preach till the people might say, I wish y^e old man w^d leave off preaching; accordingly I have given up my parish to James Sayre—and have removed to N Y, to spend the Close of Life in private, at w^h place I shall be glad to receive your commands". The following year he wrote again, "Middletown is my beloved City, above all other places in the world— I designed that for the place of my residence in the Close of life, and made provision with that view, in a Paternal Estate which fell to me there. But Gov^t, or rather old Devenport who is now gone to some other Region, thot fit to take it from me: so all the Estate I now have is in this City (New York), for that reason I have pitched my Tent in this City. Could I have had my own choice Middletown would have been the place, as I have always been treated by that people with more respect and friendship than those of any other place. And next to that, should have preferred New Haven, for the same reason".

It was, however, in New Haven that he found final shelter. Writing in 1855 Miss Mary Lucas Hillhouse said, "Dr. Leaming spent his last years in my aunt's family. He requested it as a favour that she would receive him on the score of old friendship". Miss Hillhouse adds,

"I knew Dr. Leaming in the last stages of life. He rises to my mind, the very ideal of age and decrepitude—a small, emaciated old man, very lame, his ashen and withered features surmounted sometimes by a cap, and sometimes by a small wig—always quiet and gentle in his manner, and uniformly kind and inoffensive. His mind had evidently suffered an eclipse before I knew him. . . . He said little; spent most of his time in his own room, and never entertained his younger auditors with stirring tales of his earlier manhood."¹¹

Dr. Leaming died September 15th, 1804, at the age of eighty-seven. His will, which was probated on September 25, bears witness to the austerity of his life. He bequeathed \$250 to "my friend, Mrs Mary Hillhouse", \$100 to "my friend, Rev. Bela Hubbard", and \$100 to Nancy Stockwell, together with his silver spoons, his andirons, tongs and shovel, and his two bedsteads. His personal possessions were valued at \$110.87. Mr. Seymour writes,

"Indeed, by far the largest item in his inventory is \$37.50, covering two beds, bolsters and pillows at \$31.00 and two bedsteads at \$6.50, He had 'five old rose blankets' valued at \$3.75, two 'old bedquilts' valued at \$3.75, a 'washing tub' at fifty cents and 'one old carpet' valued at \$4.00. He had no books and no pictures, but one 'soup spoon' at \$6.00, two silver tablespoons and seven silver teaspoons at \$5.34, one watch at \$15.00 and one 'silver bason' at \$12.00. A reasonable amount of clothing, and other small items fill out the list, with a small table, a looking glass and two small boxes".¹²

¹¹Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V, p. 130.

¹²Seymour, *The Reverend Jeremiah Leaming of Connecticut. A Biographical Sketch in the Form of a Letter to Henry Watson Kent, Esq. Woodbury, Connecticut: at the Glebe House. MDCCCXXVIII. P. 26.*

He was buried in the Grove Street cemetery in New Haven, and his grave stone bears the following inscription:

HERE REST THE REMAINS OF THE
REV. JEREMIAH LEAMING, D. D.,
LONG A FAITHFUL MINISTER OF
THE GOSPEL IN THE EPISCOPAL
CHURCH; WELL INSTRUCTED,
ESPECIALLY IN HIS HOLY OFFICE;
UNREMITTING IN HIS LABOURS;
CHARITABLY PATIENT AND OF
PRIMITIVE MEEKNESS. HIS PUBLIC
DISCOURSES FORCIBLY INCULCATED
THE FAITH ILLUSTRATED BY HIS
PRACTICE. RESPECTED, REVERED AND
BELOVED IN LIFE, AND LAMENTED
IN DEATH, HE DEPARTED HENCE,
SEPTEMBER 15, 1804,
AET. 87.

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The Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, D. D. His Life and Services By E. Edwards Beardsley, D. D., LL. D. Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New Haven. Reprinted from The Churchman, With An Appendix. New York, James Pott & Co., Astor Place. 1885. Pp. 20.

The Reverend Jeremiah Leaming of Connecticut. A Biographical Sketch In The Form Of A Letter To Henry Watson Kent, Esq. By George Dudley Seymour. Woodbury, Connecticut: at the Glebe House. MDCCCXXVIII. Pp. 31.

THE LEAMING LETTERS.

The Rev^d Mr Peters
at Bartlets Buildings
No 5
London

Leaming Rev^d
Notation
May 6 1782.

New York May 6. 1782

Rev^d and dear Sir
alias Peters

I rec^d your favour Dated Oct. 3. 1781—Ap 14. 1782 and I am set down to write you an answer. Some parts of your Letter I could not have answered, if I had rec^d it before;

but am able now to give a full and Satisfactory account of the whole that you request. The Rev^d Mr John Marshal,¹ having come in here from Connecticut the day before I rec^d Your favour, by permission of your friend Trumbull, to take possession of a good Estate fallen to him by Death of a Relation. You are intirely mistaken, about B^r Marshals being a Candidate for the Gov^t—It was one Marshal a new Light, who preaches and prays, as they say; and was bold enough to tell the Almighty what he and all the powers above ought to do, at this alarming Crisis.

B^r Marshall, whose Loyalty you profess to doubt, is far from enough from a disloyal Spirit; so I hope you will not judge him with Severity. He saw your Son about one month Since, at Stratford, with his Grandfather & Grandmother; all well. He says your Son is a fine promising Child, and loves the Clergy; and is like to make a much better man than his Father.

Your poor B^r Birdsey and his wife, both died on Long Island and have left only one Child, which is well and lives with y^e Grandfather.

Good old Mr Beach² is no more: Mr Diblee³ is very well

¹Rev. John Rutgers Marshall was born in New York City and graduated from King's College. Ordained in London in 1771, he was appointed missionary at Woodbury, Conn. During the Revolution he suffered greatly at times, being forbidden to preach and on one occasion he was severely beaten. During his ministry he was a staunch defender of the Church and engaged in a pamphlet controversy with Noah Hobart. He died January 21, 1789.

²Rev. John Beach was born in 1700 and graduated from Yale in 1721. For several years he was minister of the Congregational Church at Newtown, Connecticut. Being "an ingenious and studious person, having had the advantage of better books", he was led to join the Church of England about 1732 and proceeded to England for Holy Orders and was ordained the same year. He was then appointed missionary of the S. P. G. at Newtown, where he labored without a break for fifty years. In 1750 he was invited to succeed the Rev. James Honyman as minister of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, but declined, fearing the people there "might complain that a worn-out man was imposed upon them". Though never free from pain, he missed only two Sundays in forty years. In addition, he officiated in towns "where the Common Prayer had never been heard, nor the Scriptures read in public". The Rev. Bela Hubbard wrote from New Haven, saying, "We have to lament the loss of the great and the good Mr. John Beach, who for half a century hath been a most worthy and dutiful Missionary from the Society, at Newtown and Reading, where he deceased on the 19th of March, 1782, in the eighty-second year of his age". (Cf. Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. V, pp. 82-85; Hawkins, *Missions of the Church of England*, pp. 201-215.)

³Rev. Ebenezer Diblee, rector of St. John's Church, Stamford, Ct.

all the rest of the Clergy in Connecticut, I hear, Yet live. Mr Bardsley has lately left his third wife. The Mr Punderson⁴ you mentioned returned here Safe; and now lives at the East End of Long Island with his Family.

The two Doc^r Clarks and their families are well; Mrs Leaming has been very ill, but has, to my great Satisfaction, wonderfully recovered.

I have just sent you a paper enclosed to be given to the Society in favour of Mr. Jarvis.⁵ I have signed it, and wish Doc Chandler⁶ might sign it, and that you would do it also—Or if, he and You think some other mode may do better, I must request You will consult together, and draw it up and put my name with yours—If you think it may do any good service.

You are not uneasy I hope, that You was drove off this land; Since it has procured a History which will perpetuate Your Name.

There is a vast number of Dissenting ministers in Connecticut politically dead, and many really so—among which was Doc^r Wells, so on after he rec^d his Doctorate for abusing me.

I forwarded your Daughters Letter, to Mr. Birdsall by Mr Marshal— I am sincerely your aff. Friend

J. Leaming.

P. S. I am not sorry that I wrote the Defence of Episcopacy; altho it has been the cause of offending some who ought not to have been offended. The seeds of the Church in Cont^t, that were planted, are now Springing up. You was drove off to make the Tryal but finding that your Treatment, was unpopular they desisted, accordingly you was the Scape Goat.

⁴Dr. Cyrus Punderson (Yale), second son of Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, missionary of the S. P. G., was born at North Groton, Ct., April 17 1737. He entered the medical profession. He died in New York, January 10, 1789, and was buried at Setauket, Long Island. (Bolton, *History of the Church in Westchester County, New York*, p. 307.)

⁵Abraham Jarvis.

⁶Rev. Doctor Thomas B. Chandler.

To Rev. Mr Peters,
London.

Peter's Notation
Leaming Revd August
12, 85

Answ^d Feb. 10.

Stratford, August 12, 1785.

No I.

My dear and beloved Friend,

I have just recd your kind favour, by Dr. Chan^r,⁷ and in May recd one dated March 5, which I have not answered, expecting Dr Seabury here every minute: yet did not arrive, till about the time Dr C^r came.

The reason you offer for finding Mr. Birdeyes ac^t are perfectly satisfactory. And Intend they shall send it with this Letter, perhaps, it may not be too late.

The reasons you mention for taking away our Salaries is a paradox,⁸ in all shapes I can View it: our Names were never put to any papers, but to those directed to the Bishops in South Britain, and to them, none put their names, but only *myself*: and Mr Jarvis,⁹ as *Secretary of the Convention of this State*.

And the other Reason, (if it can be called so) offered for doing of it, as unaccountable. Did they, without our wish or desire make us nonjurors? and then take away our Salaries because we were nonjurors? Heaven defend us from such sort of Reason!

I do not know how it is; but great men can draw Conclusions, without any premises.

There is something so wicked, for them to entice the Clergy of this State, to leave their flocks, which have been taught by us, to believe, that the Society had nothing more at heart, than to support true Religion, without the least thot of acting by a party spirit in the affair.

However, I imput all this, to the Influence of some Crafty Dissenter, over the Society, in order, now we have a Bishop, to stop the rapid growth of the Church here. perhaps, you will not believe it; but the Church here is now the popular Religion of the State. Had our Salaries been continued Seven

⁷Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

⁸The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts cancelled the salaries hitherto paid to the clergy of Connecticut.

⁹Rev. Abraham Jarvis, afterwards second Bishop of Connecticut.

years longer, we should have been able to carry a sufficient sway to support the Church. A Bp is no objection here. And the Dissenters applaud the great zeal of the Church in their perseverance to obtain one.

I see, in Humphreys¹⁰ history of the Society that Archb Tennison gave £1,000—in Trust to Society towards the maintenance of the first Bp that should be settled in America. He has been dead about 80 years. I wish you could procure a Copy of that Will, and see, if Humphreys told us right. I once saw the Will of Lady Betty Hastings, in which she gave the Society, £1,500 in trust for the support of a Bp or Bps in America—about 40 years since that Will took place. There is a copy of that Will at Newport, which I will procure.

I think there is no Judge dare Give Judgment again the plain Sense and letter of the Donor, and you will see how A. Bp Tenison has expressed it. If it is expressed as clearly as it is said, I think there can be no doubt of obtaining it; which would be a great help to us in our present situation.

Many others have given considerable sums for the support of Bps in America; But if A. Bp Tenison has confined his Donation to the *First Bp* in America; It is located, and cannot be altered by any, that pretend to the least shadow of Justice.

There are many Glebes in this State given in Trust to the Society; it becomes necessary now they have cast us off, that they should Transmit Deeds of those Glebes to the particular Churches who purchased them. This we shall apply for to the Society, and expect it to be done.

The Sermon preached on the day Dr Seabury was recognized as our Bp; to which is added the Solemnity of the Trans-action, together with the Bps Charge to his Clergy; is now gone to the press; and you shall have a copy, when it comes out. God support you in all your trouble: thus prays your affec:

J. Leaming.

¹⁰An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Containing their Foundation, Proceedings, and the Success of their Missionaries in the *British Colonies*, to the Year 1728. By David Humphreys, D. D., Secretary to the Honourable Society. London. Printed by Joseph Downing, in *Bartholomew-Close*, near *West-Smithfield*, MDCCXXX.

Stratford Sep^r 27.
1785.

No 2.

My very dear Friend,

Notwithstanding the hard things you have said of me Governor Trumble¹¹ is now dead And we've a Bishop at our head.

According to my promise, I have enclosed the Sermon I told you in the No I, was gone to y^e press.

I beg you will procure a knowledge of Bp Tenisons Donation to the first Bp residing in America.

I will send you Mr Birdsesys acc^t soon: but much Businss has prevented me doing of it now.

J. Leaming.

The Reverend Mr Peters
Pimlico
London.

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
Nov 27. 1785
rec 17 Feb. 1786
ans 20 Feb.

Stratford Nov 22. 1785

My dear Sir,

I know you think I am a mean contemptible wretch; and yet I know you love me, because you believe I will hold to the Truth. There is one thing in which you wrong me; *That I want to exalt myself above my Brethren.* For if I know my own heart, y^t is not the case.

There is a paper enclosed in this, I wish was published in y^e Newspaper by way of Letter, that y^e Bps might see it; and by y^t means see themselves.

We should have done as we please here, if the Bps would have favoured our Righteous Cause. We are the true Sons of the Chh; and if they are so, why did they neglect us?

The lay Deputies to the Southward will make wicked work with a Bp, if they get one. and the world will condemn the Bps of England, if y^y give y^m one. and will say it was done out of revenge to us. The only way they have to save their Characters *now*, is to patronize us, and do every thing for us in their power. I really pity them, that they have been so ignorant of the true Character of the Chh in this State. the only one on which they could rely with Confidence. If they

¹¹Jonathan Trumble, Governor of Connecticut.

had known the Purity of our Intentions, they would have granted whatever we asked. If the proceedings at Philadelphia¹² are printed before this vessel sails by which this Letter is to go, I will send them.

Your son is to go to Mr Mansfields tomorrow. tho your old father will be hard put to it to pay for it.

With Comp^{ts} to your Daughter

I am always yours

J. Leaming.

NOTE. There is added to this letter, in the handwriting of Mr Peters the following:

1.

R^d Baxters mode of altering the English Prayer Book excelled yours—viz—burn it and make a new one. You have spoiled the Matrimonial Service by leaving out, With my Body I thee will worship.

2.

1786.

Answer.—The English Bps hold themselves not akin to the American Bps—and made them in Spite of Dr Seabury a nonjuring Bp—from Scotland—for which I was censured by Archbp Moore—Piety & Morality have no Friends in England—Ecclesiastical Orthodoxy is changed into Civil—nonjurors are cursed: for being nigher to the Catholics of Rome. than King Henry 8th, or Protestant Chh of England.

The Act of Parliament in 1786 enabled George III to authorize the Archbp to make a College of Bps for the 13 States of America—becaus George had no divine Power from Hen 8—nor Queen Eliz. The Parliament is now head of the Chh of England, & of the Bps of America.

The Head of the Chh of England died with Queen Ann—& commenced with the Parliament on Coronation of George 1st—1715. Primative Rules & Doctrines are obsolated in

¹²The first General Convention, which met at Philadelphia from September 27th to October 7th, 1785.

1715—Civil Law is our orthodoxy—and a Higher Repentance & primitive Faith & Brotherly Love—

Happy are those who can live on Christs Laws.
adieu.

S. P.

The Reverend
Mr Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
June 1. 1786.
recd July 29
Ans 19 Sept.

To be forwarded
by Mr Ellison

Stratford June 1, 1786.

My very dear friend,

Yesterday I rec^d your fav^{rs} of the 10 and 20th of Feb^y. And write immediately; to convince you, I am determined to keep up a correspondence with you. You say you are sorry I have been deceived, and so am I. From this it appears, we are a couple of Sorry fellows. Yet I do not think you a mean contemptible wretch, or that you desire to exalt yourself above your Brethren; and hope you do not harbor a thot, that I would do it.

You ask why I was not Bp of Cont^t. I was Bp Elect; by vote of the Clergy here; but fearing the Chh might suffer under my poor Abilities, caused me to answer, *Nolo Episcopare*;

Had I known that Dr S¹³ had so many personal Enemies, I should not have given the answer I did. This is under the Rose; and you force me to say that, which I wish not to be repeated.

You observe; that in the Sermon preached at Middletown, I have omitted to use my former polished Style. And that the Criticks on your side of the water, will deny that the universal peace in the world, at our Saviours birth was to prepare the world to receive the King of Peace.

Perhaps they deny that there has been a Saviour of Mankind, and deny the Lord that hath redeemed them. As to polish Style I never had it.

¹³Bishop Seabury.

How could you say, we make ourselves nonjurors? Did not the Royal Voice declare, that he would lose the Tower of London, before he would desert his friends in America? And yet when the peace was made, they were not thot worthy of any notice.

You will say, we should have gone to Nova S,¹⁴ and then we should have partook of the fav^r of Gov^t. I always have made it a Rule that when a man once deceives me, never to trust him again. The thousands that we have been laboring for thirty years, if we went to N. S. or Siberia, must be left destitute of Clergymen, and lose all Religion: for it was impossible for them to go. You say we pretended to be friends to the british Gov^t; but have deserted; and joined with those that revolted. We were firm, till the (paper torn) should have viewed as friends, refused to own us; and gave away our Estates, to those, who had made us Suffer so much; in order to convince us, that they *loved* their Enemies and *hated* their friends. There were more firm friends to the British Gov^t, here, than in the same number, of Churchmen, in any part of the Dominions of G. B., till we saw that they designed to Sacrifice us to a Set of men, who are to make their fortunes from the Labor of the poor Refugees. An American is not viewed by that sort of men, an Inch better than one of the brut Creation. This is said, and it is known to be true, by Your old friend

J. L—————g.

Reverend Samuel Peters

Pimlico

London

To the Care of

Mr. Rivington.

Notation

Leaming Rev

July 7. 1786

rec^d Oct 9

Answ^d 24

Stratford July 7, 1786.

My very dear Sir,

I have wrote a Letter the moment I rec^d your last fav^r, to inform you I had rec^d it: but had not time to acquaint you that you are mistaken concerning the Clergy; that Several of

¹⁴The S. P. G. offered to provide support for the Connecticut missionaries if they would remove to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.

them had embraced Tylers¹⁵ principles. How came you by that Intelligence? I am sorry you gave such a Character of us to the world. Who told you that we were thus unstable in our principles? Was it Tyler? he is a liar from the beginning.

There is another falsehood published in the London paper concerning us viz that the New England States, had formed a prayer Book for themselves, leaving out two of the Creeds, and altering the other &c &c— This is, with regard to the clergy of this Dio—, as false as him that wrote it. This was done by a set of men in Boston, that have taken possession of the once Kings Chappel,¹⁶ and have formed a prayer Book in which have intirely cast away everything that Can be called Christian, so that a Jew, a Heathen, or a Turk may be as well pleased as any one that would pawn themselves upon the world for Christians.

We are the same in principles and practice that we were when you was here. And am persuaded that in the End it Will turn out, Let them call us Jacobites, or what they please.

¹⁵The reference appears to be to the Rev. John Tyler, for more than fifty years rector of Norwich, Ct. He was born at Wallingford and graduated from Yale in 1765. In 1768 he was ordained in London and appointed S. P. G. missionary at Norwich. He was suspected of universalist principles. There are indications that he was at variance with the Convention of the diocese and absented himself from the meetings at least for one period of about ten years. Under date of August 25, 1786, Bishop Seabury wrote him saying, "your conduct, more particularly of late, has given great offence to several of the Clergy of the State, and that they greatly desire an interview with you, that they may know in what light they are to consider you for the future". Tyler was requested to attend the Convocation at Derby "to see whether mutual explanations may not remove that offence which your proceedings at Wallingford and Norwich have, we conceive, justly given to them and myself". Not being able to attend the Convocation, Rev. Abraham Jarvis and Rev. Bela Hubbard, together with the Bishop, were deputed to "try whether by conference they could prevail with you to put matters on such a footing as that they might still keep up their connection with you". (Cf. W. J. Seabury, *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, p. 382f.) The result of the conference, if held, is not recorded. It is known, however, that Tyler officiated at the funeral of Bishop Seabury, and that he himself died on January 20, 1823, in his eighty-first year.

¹⁶On the 19th of June, 1785, the proprietors of King's Chapel, Boston, the Rev. James Freeman, minister, approved radical alterations of the Book of Common Prayer. The alterations "were principally those of Dr. Samuel Clark, the celebrated English divine, and for the most part were such as involved the omission of the doctrine of the Trinity". Mr. Freeman had become a Unitarian. (Greenwood, *History of King's Chapel in Boston*, p. 138-9. Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co. 1833.)

that there is no other State in the 13, That will retain, even the faith once delivered to the Saints. For I hear, that the English Bps, have concluded to consecrate Bps for the Southern States, provided they (the Southern people) will retain in their prayer book the two Creeds they had cast away, and restore these words in the Apostles Creed, He descended into Hell. It is supposed there will be no difficulty in having these Creeds, inserted in their prayer Book, as they intend to leave it *optional* in the Clergy to use them or not.

And it is easy to conceive what will be the conduct of those men who cast away the Creeds, at first, when it is left to their own will to use them or not.

I have no Doubt, that the English Bps, when they view our conduct, when we applied to them, for a Bp, that (they) will allow we were honest, and dealt fairly, and that there was no duplicity in transacting our Business with them. We were engaged to have a Bp; we requested them to send us one; and when we made the application we had no doubt of succeeding; supposing there could be no objection from any Quarter. But we were Ignorant that two presbyterian ministers governed Billy Whig!¹⁷

In the Letter to Tyler, immediately after your name, Samuel Peters A. M.—(this sentence is inserted) It had been good for that Man (Sam^l Peters) if he had not been born.

Mrs. Leaming is still much out of Health and your father Birdsey desires me to mention his kind regards to you—I hear your daughter is married, but you have never said any thing to me about it; I hope you have not got a fit of the grim pouts concerning it.

I have not seen the Gentlemans Magz for Jan, Feb or March, as y^y are not to be had here, at present. As soon as I see y^m, if they are sausy I shall be at y^m for I suppose I can vindicate what I have published.

Let me hear from you often, a Letter from you revives me; tho it fetches blood in every stroke, and I cannot live comfortably without a Correspondence with you. for I want to hear what is doing in the world; pray is Dr. Inglis to be Bp in N. Scotia? and have or get the plum from Dr. C. (Chandler). poor man his heart will break with disappointment.

[NOTE.] This letter is unsigned.

¹⁷William Pitt.

On the page of this letter containing the address there are two paragraphs:

(1) signed, S. P. (Dr Samuel Peters) reading as follows:

"N. B. I talked with the Archbp on your Letter & Mr Diblee &c &c—he said what is the Episcopal Chh in America to us? Billy Whig said, all we want of America is their Trade—to gain it, we may & shall follow the Rule of Charles 2nd (i e) buy our Enemies—& neglect our former Friends—*now become weak*"—our old Friends may move into our Colonies, or be Governed by their & our Enemies—as to what Religion may reign in the 13 States it concerns not great Britain—we want their Trade—and we will gain it. The Archbp said Mr. Freeman¹⁸ Mr. Tyler, Dr Mayhew¹⁹ & all the Puritans of America are alike indifferent to us of the Chh of England—they then laughed at the Word *Religion* & said no matter to us are their Creeds, *Many* or *few*.

Behold what Deception have we been led into?

Piety & Morality hence forth is my Religion—I hate all other Religions

S. P."

Then follows another paragraph unsigned:

"Dr Seabury by turning to the Scotch Jacobite Bps—Damned Dr Chandler, Vardill, Cooper,²⁰ Caner²¹ and all the Loyal Clergy in New England—& makes Room for your be-

¹⁸Rev. James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, Boston.

¹⁹Jonathan Mayhew, born in 1720, was the son of the Rev. Experience Mayhew, missionary to the Indians at Martha's Vineyard, Mass. He graduated from Harvard and in 1747 settled as minister of the West Church, Boston. In 1751 Aberdeen University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Dr. Mayhew engaged in a pamphlet controversy with the Reverend East Apthorp, Episcopal minister at Cambridge, Mass., relating to the policy of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the proposal to send Bishops to the American Colonies. Mayhew wrote "*Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the S. P. G. with Remarks on the Mistakes of Mr. Apthorp*", and later followed with "*A Defence of His Observations*". The second pamphlet was answered anonymously by an English writer believed to be Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Cf. *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Pastor of the West Church and Society in Boston*, by Alden Bradford, LL. D. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 1838.

²⁰Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, formerly president of King's College, New York. A refugee in England.

²¹Rev. Henry Caner, former minister of King's Chapel, Boston.

loved Inglis,²² Moore,²³ Provoost,²⁴ White,²⁵ Madison²⁶—these Dr Seabury the Archbp & Mr Pitt & ruined you all & us here—Ah! a fig for Apostolic & primitive Systems—Seeing the System of Henry 8th & Queen Eliz contain better Policy—for all but Papists & the

The Reverend Mr Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

to the care of
Rivington
St. Paul's Churchyard.

Notation.
Leaming Revd
recd Novemb 3
Answ 6

with four Pamphlets.
Stratford Jan^y 22 87.

My Dear Sir,

Your favour of Oct 24 86, I have rec^d the 19th Inst^t for which you have my hearty thanks. You not only find fault with my Conduct, but say the English Bps Condemn me: and say, it was not in the power of the King, to absolve the Clergy of this State, from their obligation to their quondam Bp—Be it so. It was not the King, but the Parliament, and the English Bps included in it, that made America independent. All the Bps voted for it; and not one of them said a word in favour of the Loyalist; that they ought to be considered who had Suffered so much for their attachment to the Constitution of Great Britain, in Ch and State. This was a subject that ought to engaged the Attention of Somebody. For though there was provision made for those that went to Nov. Scotia; all those, whose Circumstances were

²²Rev. Chas. Inglis, sometime loyalist rector of Trinity Church, New York, and later Bishop of Nova Scotia.

²³Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, one time rector of Trinity Church, New York, later Bishop of New York. Loyalist.

²⁴Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, rector Trinity Church, New York, and first Bishop of New York.

²⁵Rev. Dr. William White, consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1787.

²⁶Rev. Dr. James Madison, President of William and Mary College, Williamsburgh, Va., and first Bishop of Virginia.

I suppose the Bps, may recollect, that the Parliament made America Independent; and that the parliament absolved the Clergy of England from their oath to their quondam Bps in the time of King W^m 3rd. If the Act of Par^t was valid in one case, it will be nice point to prove it is not so, in the Other. I must repeat it again, *I am of y^e Same principles as when You left me.* And you may say what you please about me, it will not effect me, unless you can say, I have departed from y^e faith of the early Xns.

However, I had no doubt in my own mind but that we should have some favour, and the Civil powers would suspend the penalties the Bps were liable to for consecrating a Bp for the people here, in order Still to preserve our Affection to them, for whom they knew, we had Sacrificed our Happiness and Estates. But in this, I was mistaken; for and Ezra,¹ wrote to Dr Price, and desires him, to engage Billy Whig, to oppose every movement for our having our Pitition granted—Upon this the half loaf was given; which you mentioned. You were governed at home by presbyterian

¹Ezra Stiles, born in New Haven, November 29, 1727. President Yale College from 1775 to his death on May 12, 1795.

interest: by the Machinations of Jon² and Ezra.³ Jonⁿ is not; Ezra is not dead. The Daughter of Cheesbrook of Newport, an only child, married to one Grant, he carried her to England, and is dead; she came to Newport this Autumn to dispose of her fortune and return to England. She had it in Charge from Dr Price to visit Ezra, and set the affairs of y^e nation, when she returns to England. So that you see how matters are. I have wrote a long Epistle.

But I have not done yet; when price⁴ found, that S⁵ was consecrated in Scotland; he then engaged Billy Whig to send his mandate to the second man in the Kingdom, and ordered him to dismiss all the Missionaries in these States; and give large Saleries to the Clergy that would go to Nova Scotia—and by that means put End to the Chh here, which was y^e view of Ezra—

Now upon this view of the Subject, what was to become of 20,000 Chhmen in Connecticut, which could not move to N. Scotia, if all our Clergy had left their people? why! they must have done, as Ezra wished, *joined y^e meeting*. And in that case, what have y^e Society been doing for 70 Years? then price says, what shall I do now? I am resolved what to do. Let there be an act to suspend y^e penalties &c for if this is not done, S may ordain, and y^e Chh there may be still preserved. make a huge cry against a Jacobite Bp, and ordain Bps for the Southern States, in opposition to S. and by that means y^e Chh will be devided, and consequently come to an end. This will gratify Ezra, and compleat all his wishes.

You charge me with being a Jacobite: I deny y^e charge. I have the same good wishes for the present Family on the throne that I ever had. And what those were I need not say now. And I am as ready to communicate with y^e Chh Eng^d as ever, and of course no Schismatic.

Ing^{s6} was provoked that S was nominated for Bp so that he has no hand in that matter. If Ing^s has a mind to ride on Dr Crose, let C be carried to England; we don't want either

²Bishop Seabury.

³Jonathan Trumble.

⁴Ezra Stiles.

⁵Dr. Price.

⁶Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, afterwards first Bishop of Nova Scotia.

of them here, as to Duchee⁷ he will not be here. And as to Combes * * * let him Stay in France and get his hair dressed.

Dr Cs * * * are not an end; tho I think he is not far from it. Has Dr I no chance for a Mitre? that will put an end to him too; for tis reported here, that his hopes are gratified.

And as to Jonⁿ, let him be where he will, I hope he will never come here again. For we have no want of him, for his friends wished him gone that they might have his post.

I was not, as you insinuate, angry at your letter to Tyler. I liked it well, and thank you for doing the Business so well to the purpose.

According to your request, I send you some publications—viz, The first and second Defence of Episcopacy: which I wish was reprinted in England; a Sermon preached at Dr Johnson's funeral; and another upon the first day sabbath. You have the sermons the *Evidence for Christianity* and another preached at Middletown. I have not the polemical Tracts that have been published in Connecticut, nor can I procure them; I once had them all; but they are gone with my Library, when Gov^r Tryon came, and undid me. Phebee wishes you happy, and wants to see you. May your new Son and his dear partner be happy. Thus prays

Eusebius.

Six days after this Letter was wrote I rec^d your fav^r Aug 19, 86 in which you take notice, I did not mention your Letter to Mr Tyler; tho Dr Johnson did. I had not rec^d it when I wrote the June 1, 86. I suppose the Religion of St Paul at Rome and at Athens was y^e same. If so why may not we

⁷Rev. Jacob Duche, a loyalist refugee in England, was born in Philadelphia in 1737 and ordained in 1759 and became Professor of Oratory at Harvard and later minister of the united churches of Philadelphia. At the outbreak of the Revolution Duche strongly favored the American cause and offered prayer at the first Congress. A few days after the British occupation of Philadelphia he addressed a letter to George Washington abjuring his former views. Towards the end of 1777 he proceeded to England and became preacher at the Lambeth Asylum. In 1789 he retired and returned to Philadelphia in 1790. He died January 3rd 1798. It may be noted that he was present at the consecration of White and Provoost in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace in 1787.

be of y^e same Religion under a Republican Gov^t, as we were under a Monarchy? The Establishment in Religion is of human Institution; we are y^e very same as the Chh of England, y^e thing excepted. We derive our authority from y^e same fountain, and we hold to the same worship and Discipline. I can't conceive y^t you can be so infatuated as to suppose, y^t a Jacobite Bp cant convey *Apostolic power*, without conveying his political principles. Our desire to have a Bp was founded upon principles directly opposite to what you are pleased to charge us with. From hence it is plain we are not of the family of Corah, Dathan and Abirim; for if we belonged to y^m, we should have been contented with y^e power we had, and said there was none Superiour. I wish I could see those things wh have been wrote against me—for they have not reached this Country.

We know not, & believe not in any Apostolic power—
 Kingly Power, or Henry 8th Power Civil is all in all.
 (This last sentence appears to be in a different handwriting).

The Reverend Samuel Peters
an Angelic Letter
 Pimlico
 London

Notation.
 Leaming Rev^d
 June 12, 1787
 recd Sept 29
 ans Oct 6.

June 12, 1787.

My friend the unknown,

About three years Since, a poor old limping fellow, hearing some Whigs lamenting their case, and complaining that Independence had not turned out as they expected, He said, it was a great pity that King G— when you insisted to be independent, but upon no other plan than this, You shall be an Independent Kingdom upon the same Constitution of Great Britain; and take my second Son to be your King, and his

Heirs after him for ever; and you shall have a trade with my Kingdom as heretofore, and be in alliance with me, and be protected by my shipping.

These sentiments have been working their way, till they seem to be almost ripe for Execution; and be not Startled, if you should find, application made to have it compleated.

Tho the powers of all, or almost all in Europe have guaranteed our Independence, they have not determined what sort of Government we shall fix upon; and if we determine to be under a Monarchial Gov^t; we may be so; and consequently have a right to chuse whom we pledge to be our King. And in so doing, we all are, as _____, as if we, were republicans; and much more so.

No one can suppose that the people in Connecticut are Jacobites; when they wish one of the family on the throne of G B. should reign over us. this scheme originated in Connecticut.

I did not communicate this to you, till now: Supposing it might not take place. But it appears now, to this old crible, that there is no other alternative. with which the people would be satisfied, but only this,— And provided this Scheme should be effected, it might be of great advantage to both the powers, that transact the affairs. For here is a foundation for the largest Empire; having all Climates in it,—a large sea Coast, Rivers running from all parts, which may be made to communicate with each other by channels; accordingly a water to transport every thing with the Smallest Expense.

Nothing is wanting to make us a happy people, but that Religion be properly Supported,—a Good perminent Government, a free trade; and the only thing that can effect all this, is now at this time, to fix upon Gov^t, that may produce these Blessings.

The old Crible, has nothing to expect in this world, but persecution from his Enemies,—to be despised by the world, and to be laughed at by his friends. Accordingly his only wish is to be fit for Heaven, and carry as many as he can with him, and leave his Sons under such Circumstances as to raise up many yet unborn, to be prepared for a blessed Immortality. If the true Doctrines of Religion are properly

brought to the View of the people, they must produce some good Effects. Our Resurrection may be clearly proved, Because the Dignity of the flesh is such, that it ought to be raised. The power of God is such, that it may be raised; the Justice of God requires that it should be raised; and the testimony of the Scriptures clear, that it shall be raised. When all these Evidences appear in one Subject, what is there, that can prevent a man from attending to the Evidence, which is so clear, and in an affair in which he is so much concerned? You will say perhaps, what, or who is this crooked old fellow who begins with politiks, and ends in Religion? What has Religion and politicks to do together? more perhaps than is generally imagined. These Sentiments are communicated to You for your own use, and you are not to tell from whom they came, because you do not know, whose they are. For it is certified that they are from your unknown friend; altho he heard that you have been a great sufferer; and has a sympathy with you, notwithstanding you did not know it. the paper is at an End, and the pen must stop.

(unsigned)

(To be continued)

CHRISTIANIZING AND EDUCATING THE NEGRO IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA.

MARY F. GOODWIN.

There have been few remarks concerning the infant colony of Virginia more widely quoted than that of Sir Edward Seymore, when approached by Dr. James Blair in the interest of the proposed college in Virginia—"The colonists have souls to save," said Blair, "Damn their souls," replied Seymore, "make tobacco!" If this was the attitude of the overlords in England in regard to the spiritual welfare of the colonists, it is little to be wondered at that the consciences of these same colonists was but slowly aroused to their responsibility for the negroes who were being brought to these shores from Africa in ever increasing numbers,

The first slaves in America were sold in Jamestown in 1619. It was soon apparent that they were more adaptable to heavy work in the hot summer than was the white man, and the nefarious trade increased rapidly. After the middle of the 17th century the second generation of these slaves, born and bred in Virginia proved to be more docile and tractable than their parents; and the clergymen in various parishes began to urge the planters to allow their negroes to be instructed for baptism. At first there was opposition. It was urged that the negroes were not like other men in that they had no souls; that if they were Christianized they would hold themselves equal *with* their masters; and that the laws of England forbade holding a Christian as a slave.

In spite of this opposition some ministers taught and baptised these native Virginia negroes, and for the most part the masters allowed it when they seemed capable of being instructed. As early as 1632 a law had been passed requiring all masters and mistresses to send their "children, servants¹

¹The word *servant* referred only to the indentured English or Indian servants who worked out their servitude in seven years.

and apprentices" to be catechised by the parish priest.² By 1667 it became necessary for General Assembly to pass an Act declaring "that the conferring of Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom; that divers masters, freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament."³

The necessity was immediately laid upon the ministers to instruct all those who were baptised and to teach them the catechism. Here another question arose: If the negroes were taught the catechism, would it not make them dissatisfied with their condition, especially if they were taught to read the Prayer Book? Experience soon showed the answer to be in the negative; the more religion the slaves had the more easily were they handled, and so the opposition became negligible. Some masters did not make it easy for their slaves to attend the instruction provided for them, and many negroes lived too far from the churches to attend, but honest efforts were made in many places to "convert" these "infidels."

Acting on his instructions from England, Francis Nicholson when he became Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia in 1698, inquired of the Council the status of the slave, and the reply was that generally the negroes born in Virginia were baptised and brought up as Christians. Those imported were not taught because the "rudeness of manners, variety and strangeness of their language and shallowness and weakness of mind render it impossible to make progress in their conversion."⁴

Early in the 18th century we find in the letters from the ministers in Virginia to the Bishop of London an increasing sense of responsibility toward this unfortunate people. As soon as the overlordship of the Bishop of London had been definitely established by George I, Bishop Gibson, the incumbent, became deeply interested in the condition of the negroes

²*Hening's Statutes*, Vol. I, p. 181.

³*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 260.

⁴*Institutional History of Virginia in the 17th Century*, P. A. Bruce. Vol. I, p. 9.

in America. We are told he never showed any hesitation when by "his entreaties or precepts he could hope to urge forward the work of Christian love in behalf of the Negro Slave."⁵ In 1724 he sent out what to-day would be called a questionnaire to all ministers in the colonies relative to the condition of their cures. Those returned from Virginia have been printed in Bishop Perry's "*Historical Collections of Virginia*";⁶ and from them may be gathered a fair estimate of the feeling on this subject at that time. The question which concerned the negro's status was this: "Are there any Infidels, bond or free, within your Parish; and what means are used for their conversion?" In all reports a distinction was made between the Indian and the Negro "infidel". Only those answers relative to the Negro will be noticed here, and from them we see that Negro children were taught with varying degrees of earnestness and success. One minister lectured to them "if they can speak and understand English", others instructed and baptised them when they or their masters desired it, as many masters did; some ministers complained that the distance from the church made their attendance almost impossible, and one gentleman explained that the slaves were always encouraged to come to church and hear the service and sermon! Still another lectured to them in their masters' homes and reported the baptism of over two hundred in the course of his ministry of fifteen years in one parish.

In 1727 Bishop Gibson sent out two pastoral letters, one to masters and mistresses of families, exhorting them to "encourage and promote" instruction of their negroes in the Christian faith, and the other to missionaries in the plantations to do their duty in this matter. That this admonition was heeded in some parishes at least, we have proof in the letter of the Rev. John Thompson of Orange, Va. dated Aug. 1743, to his friend the Rev. Mr. Smith, rector of All Hallows, London Wall. "I have a considerable number of Communicants and

⁵*History of the Colonial Church*, J. S. M. Anderson. Vol. III, p. 445.

⁶*Historical Collections of the Am. Colonial Church, Virginia*. By Bp. Wm. S. Perry. Pp. 261-334.

to my great comfort perceive their number yearly increasing. I baptised this last year 298 white children, 13 Negroes and one mulatto, and hope in a short time to have several Negroes so far instructed as to be fit to come to the Lord's Table—"7 The long lists of slaves both among the christenings and burials in the various old parish registers still in existence, testify to the observance of the law requiring ministers to register the slaves by name and to hold public burials of their dead.

Dr. James Blair, the Commissary of the Bishop of London in Virginia, has left little documentary evidence of his many activities, but his conscience was alive to his responsibilities in the matter of the Negroes. In 1699 he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury from Williamsburg that he had submitted a "proposition" to the committee on revisal of the laws of the colony "for the encouragement of the Christian Education of our Negro and Indian Children;"⁸ and in the volume containing this letter is an undated, unsigned "Proposition" on this subject which may have been the one referred to.⁹ In his answer to the questionnaire mentioned before, Blair said "I encourage the baptism and catechising of such of them as understand English, and exhort their masters to bring them to Church and baptise the Infants when the Master or mistress become surities." In 1738 the Rev. Charles Bridges, an aged minister wrote the Bishop that he was not able to do much for the excellent design in instructing the Negroes without subscriptions from England, but he had been to consult Blair about the matter. "The Commissary and I", he writes, "grow in years, and the world hangs heavy upon us." This was five years before the Commissary died at the age of eighty-seven. When one reads the history of his stormy dealings with governors and lesser officials who stood in his way, one admits that he might well be weary at eighty-two.

Dr. William Dawson succeeded Blair as Commissary in 1743; and from the first he seems to have felt the burden of

⁷*Dr. Bray's Associates, American Correspondence*, Box I, photo-stats in the Library of Congress; originals in London.

⁸Perry's *Historical Collections*, p. 112.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 344.

the enslaved race. In that year he wrote Henry Newman, secretary of the S. P. C. K., asking for various tracts on "charity schools, work-houses and hospitals which will be useful in the establishment of Negro schools in our metropolis;" and later he wrote Dr. Bearcroft that his Lenten lectures in the College of William and Mary were attended by "near forty white servants, Indians and Negroes, and as many of these as can conveniently be present, daily resort into the House of God."¹⁰ "At the next meeting of the General Assembly," he writes later, "I design, D. V. to recommend and enforce from the pulpit the instruction of Negroes in the Christian faith and the day following to put in the hands of the several Members the Lord Bishop's letter on that subject." In 1750 Dawson writes to a friend concerning Negro schools: "Many tell me that such schools are wanted here. I cannot deny it, and therefore am now endeavoring to get such erected in all our parishes. There are three such schools in my parish, these I sometimes visit—" ¹¹ That he wrought as well as taught, like the good priest of old is proven by a bill found among his papers for "the schooling your Negro girl Jinny for one year".

Efforts to help the Negro were not limited to the Established Church. The Rev. Samuel Davies, the great apostle of Presbyterianism in Virginia and later president of Princeton College, was in 1750 living in Hanover county, harassing the soul of the Rev. Patrick Henry Sr. (the uncle of the patriot of the same name, and incumbent of the parish of St. Paul in that county). Dr. Davies's time and thought were not wholly given to dissent; for in this year he wrote to his friend Dr. Doddridge of London, "I have also comfortable hope that Ethiopia will soon stretch out her hands unto God, a considerable number of Negroes have not only been proselyted to Christianity, and baptised, but seem to be the genuine seed of Abraham—I have baptised about forty of them in a year

¹⁰Dawson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹*Ibid.*

and a half, seven or eight of whom are admitted into full Communion and partake of the Lord's Supper—"12

Up to this time the teaching given the Negroes was confined almost entirely to that incident to their religious instruction, but an inclination was being felt to extend to them the benefits of a rudimentary secular education also. In 1721, a gift had been devised to the Reverend Dr. Thomas Bray, a great and courageous missionary, for the benefit of the Negroes in America.¹³ Dr. Bray had long applied similar donations to the purchase of parochial libraries for the colonies. Before his death he formed a society in London known as "Dr. Brays Associates", to administer this and similar sums; and this society functioned in the Church of England for more than a century. Many libraries had been sent to the various parishes in Virginia before it became known in London that they were of no use to the Negroes for whom they were primarily meant—though they were very acceptable to others—because the slaves had never been taught to read. A new venture was therefore launched, the establishment of parochial schools in the plantations to teach the Negro children the rudiments of reading and writing. When this plan was first proposed the Rev. John Waring, the faithful secretary of the Associates called into consultation his friend Benjamin Franklin who was then in London to ask his advice in the matter. Dr. Franklin became deeply interested in the experiment, and was one of the trustees of the first of these schools in America—that established in Philadelphia in 1759. The school was immediately a success, and after receiving the reports to this effect at the end of the first year the Associates again consulted Dr. Franklin who advised opening similar schools in New York city, Williamsburg, Virginia, and Newport, R. I. In a few months those three schools were in operation, and their success resulted in the establishment of others

¹²Perry's *Hist. Collections*, p. 369.

¹³This is an incident of one of those inexplicable balances—if one may use that word—so often found in history;—the first negroes were brought to America by Dutch traders, and this first gift for their education was from a Dutch merchant a century later.

of like character from Nova Scotia to Jamaica. We are here concerned only with the schools in Virginia, but the others are no less interesting.

The reports from the trustees of the several schools are to be found in the Minute Books of the Society and in their correspondence with the ministers in the colonies, all of which has lately been photostated by the MSS. Division of the Library of Congress and thus made available to students in this country.¹⁴

The monthly meetings of the Associates were held in London at the "Angel and Bible" book shop in Ave Mary Lane, and the minutes of these meetings are full of interest. Letters were read from the various ministers in the field who were advising with them or experimenting in their own parishes, and the action of the Associates on the contents of these letters is faithfully recorded. Benjamin Franklin had recommended his friend and deputy post-master general, Col. Wm. Hunter with Commissary Dawson, both of Williamsburg, as trustees of the school in that city. Letters were duly dispatched informing them of the appointment, to which Hunter replied in Feb. 1761: "I received some time ago a letter from Mr. Franklin informing me that I had been nominated as one of the managers of a school to be erected here for the education of Negroes in the Christian faith etc. Mr. Dawson, the Commissary and Minister of this parish received at the same time your letter on the same subject. We consulted together and agreed with Mrs. Anne Wager for the opening a school at Michaelmas last, which was accordingly done—The design has been generally well received. The school was opened with twenty-four scholars; their Progress and Improvement in so short a time has greatly exceeded my expectations—" ¹⁵ Within six months both of these managers had died, but the school was carried on for fifteen years under the devoted care of Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of the

¹⁴The remainder of the material used for this article was gleaned largely from "*Dr. Bray's Associates Minute Book*", two vols., and "*Dr. Bray's Associates*". American Correspondence, 1742-1768.

¹⁵*Dr. Bray's Associates*: Minute Book I, 150-151.

Colony, and the successive incumbents of Bruton Parish, and was only closed when the faithful mistress, Mrs. Wager died in 1774.

The Associates recorded a letter from Franklin written in 1763 in which he reported having visited Williamsburg and giving a good account of the school there. Nicholas sent semi-annual reports of the progress of the pupils. He said the patronage was always beyond the limit set for twenty pupils. The expenses also exceeded the appropriation from London, but the deficit was paid from funds raised in Williamsburg. The number of scholars averaged twenty four, the ages of the pupils being from four and a half to ten years, and their progress was a source of gratification to Nicholas.

After the Williamsburg enterprise was safely and successfully launched, no time was lost in attempting similiar schools in the Colony where local conditions justified the experiment. One young minister whose efforts are shown in his reports was the Rev. Jonathan Boucher who came to Virginia in 1752. Two letters from Mr. Boucher which were incorporated in the Minutes of the Associates are so enlightening that parts of them are given here at length. The first was written from Hanover Parish, King George County, April 28, 1764, "wherein he says," to quote the Minutes, "that to remedy the want of a Negro school as much as he could he employed a very sensible well disposed Negro belonging to a gentleman who lives about a mile from him to endeavor at instructing his poor fellow slaves in reading and some of the first principles of Religion; he has, Mr. Boucher believes, about twenty or thirty who constantly attend him, the teacher attending Mr. Boucher two or three times a week for lessons, and he teaches the other slaves Saturdays and Sundays—"16 Mr. Boucher soon after writing this letter moved to St. Mary's Parish, Caroline County, where he ministered as best he could to the Negroes around him. In March 1767 the Minutes of the Associates noted a letter received from him in which he reported "he baptised in one day 350 adults and delivered a

¹⁶*Dr. Bray's Associates: Minute Book I, 212-213.*

lecture of an hour after reading prayers to about 3,000. It was the hardest Days Service, saith he, I ever had in my life, yet I know not that I ever before felt such Exultation of Heart as I then did, for I could not but think my Employment then truly primitive and Apostolic: It was on Whitsun Monday which is a general holiday for Slaves through out the Colony, and as I had given notice that I would on that day preach to them in particular, they eagerly flocked to me from all Quarters in greater numbers than my churchyard could contain—many Negroes attend church and behave decently, five or six have prayer books and make the responses Regularly. Last Christmas there were fifteen at Communion.”¹⁷ The earnestness of this young man has been emphasized because it was he who was afterwards chosen by George Washington to be the tutor of young Jack Custis.

There were others who were as zealous in their work among the Negroes, many of whose letters are quoted in the Minutes of the Associates, who cannot now be considered. A school was operated for five years in Fredericksburg with Col. Fielding Lewis as one of the managers.¹⁸ The experiment was tried in other towns with varying degrees of success. The governors and leading gentlemen of the Colony became members and patrons of the Society and nowhere does there seem to have been any great opposition to these schools. The efforts of the Associates were continued until, as we read in the Minutes of April 1777, “the pious designs of the Associates in supporting Negro schools on the continent of America being at present interrupted by the unhappy Disputes between Great Britain and her Colonies it is agreed—that schools for poor children in England be established—” And thus ended for a time the laudable efforts of Dr. Bray’s Associates to better the condition of an enslaved race in a foreign land, brought thither under the patronage of the British Government. After the war was ended, the work of the Associates was revived in the British possessions in the West Indies and Canada.

¹⁷*Dr. Bray’s Associates*: Minute Book I. 263.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 258.

It is only natural that work of this kind, conceived and managed from such a distance as London, should in many instances be entirely unfitted for the people whom it was intended to benefit. The English had no real understanding of the Negro: to them he was a man like unto themselves but without opportunity, and, therefore, they reasoned, with the teaching and training generally accorded a white man, he would become an intelligent Christian. This mistake has been made again and again in the history of the missions of the Christian Church, where new races and peoples were encountered for the first time. A glance at the titles of some of the books sent to Williamsburg for the Negro school there will show how far the zeal of the Associates outstripped their experience. "Allen's Discourses", "Bray's Lectures", "Kettlewell's Practical Behaviour", "Indians Instructed", "Bacon's Two Sermons Addressed to the Negroes", "Friendly Admonition to Drinkers of Spirituous Liquors", and more of the same kind.

These efforts made in the early days of our country's history to Christianize and educate the Negro may seem vague and futile, but it was the best method the Church of England could devise without experience on which to base her operations. And who shall say it was without results? We may well be mindful of the pioneer efforts of the Church to minister to these, the less fortunate of her children in a foreign land, as well as of the succeeding century of experiment, both of which were necessary before an efficient and logical system of education for the Negro could be formulated.

BENJAMIN CLARKE CUTLER.

1798-1863.

A Study of Evangelical Theology.

BY SAMUEL M. DORRANCE.

Benjamin Clarke Cutler was a New England boy, born in Jamaica Plains, Massachusetts, in 1798. He was of thoroughgoing American stock—Boston antecedents on his father's side, South Carolina on his mother's, who was a niece of the Revolutionary general, Francis Marion. His people were gentlefolk, of ample means. And he himself was a graduate of Brown University, which he selected because of "the religious advantages offered by this institution", and because he could hear Dr. Crocker at St. John's Church. After a ministry of seven years at Christ Church, Quincy, and an interval of two years, during which he had no settled charge because of ill health, he became, in 1831, the first missionary of the New York Protestant Episcopal City Missionary Society. And not only did he initiate that work with industry, wisdom and human understanding, but he showed his mettle in the face of danger. For in 1832 New York suffered its first epidemic of cholera. Over nine hundred died. Thousands fled from the city. But though Cutler's mother wrote to him from Newport imploring him to "flee while it is yet day. . . . I entreat you; linger not within its walls, as Lot would have done, but for the friendly angels that drew him perforce from it!", he stuck to his post. He said later that he had seen grass growing in almost all the streets of the city, and Broadway so deserted that when he rode by people were drawn to the windows by the strange sight. He was a brave man. He ministered constantly to the sick and dying. And he escaped unharmed.

The following year Cutler resigned this work to enter upon his long rectorship of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn. He was instituted rector on the 21st of April, 1833. And on the

5th of May he began a ministry which lasted until his death on the 10th of February, 1863. He was essentially a parish minister. He was a deputy to the General Convention more than once. In 1835 he became a life member of the Board of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, and a member of the Foreign Committee. But he was never elected to the episcopate, like his two immediate predecessors, Henry U. Onderdonk and Chas. P. McIlvaine. Nor was he the orator that McIlvaine was. He found it hard to be measured by the standards of his predecessors. Six months after coming to Brooklyn he writes: "This is a difficult people. They have been instructed by two men before me of great talents, who are now bishops; proud of this, they want everything, both in and out of the pulpit." And he was deeply hurt because some of the people "requested him to abstain from extempore efforts in the delivery of his lectures". He won out because he was an absolutely devoted man, and because, in spite of a severe and gloomy theology, he was full of cheerfulness and the milk of human kindness.

He seems to have been a man whose naturally genial, cheerful nature was sternly held in check by a sense of duty. He was intensely self-conscious, and strove conscientiously not to be too happy. In a detailed record of his "religious life" written the year after he came to St. Ann's, he says: "I feel more confidence in the result of prayer than I ever did, and more freely and more confidently commit all my ways to God. But enjoyment of the light of God's countenance, and the trembling anxiety not to sin, are wanting in me, I fear." And in the same record appears this section, entitled "My Conversation". It shows his dread of lapsing for one moment into the mere man. If he had lived today, he would have worn a clerical collar with his bathing suit, and discoursed of theology in the waves of Coney Island.

"My Conversation.—When I first became a communicant, my conversation was almost exclusively spiritual—'how sweet is memory still!' When I went to college, my conversation began to be more literary, as I had a relish for the beauties

of the classics. Still it was in a measure spiritual. In my first parish I had some sweet seasons of spiritual conversation. During my travels (two years) in different parts of the country, my conversation, as far as I can remember, was in a degree spiritual. In the New York City Mission (eighteen months) more spiritual than ever. In St. Ann's, conversation has been of a cheerful character. The duties of a large parish have burdened my mind, and an over-pressure has produced over-freedom—a natural consequence. I have to deplore the fact, that my conversation at home has not partaken more largely of religion. It is utterly a fault. God forgive me, for Christ's sake! What would my companions say of my conversation? They might say, He strives to be agreeable, and aims to please; but ought he not to strive to make conversation with his family, and in every circle, profitable? Strive he ought, for the natural heart and mind are averse to spiritual things. How would I converse if left for weeks without any restraint? I fear, 1st, cheerfully; 2d, theologically; 3d, spiritually."¹

He was, I said, a devoted man. Listen to the extraordinary document which he compiled at the age of twenty, while a freshman at Brown, and which he sealed with his own seal!

"An Instrument of Solemn Surrender of Myself, Soul and Body, to God.

In the presence of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three persons, but one God; and in presence of the blessed inhabitants of heaven—those holy angels who surround the Throne and witnessed my redemption—I, Benjamin Clarke Cutler, of Boston, now at Providence, December 13, 1818, in the twenty-first year of my age, in firm health and sound mind,—feeling that I received all I possess from God, having publicly professed the faith, and knowing I am surrounded by so many temptations, and that I ought to fight resolutely against them—do hereby solemnly (with death, judgment and eternity in view) give, covenant, and make over myself, soul

¹*Memoirs*, p. 146.

and body, all my faculties, all my influence in this world, all the worldly goods with which I may be endowed, into the hands of my Creator, Preserver and constant Benefactor, to be his for ever, and at his disposal. This solemn covenant is made in consequence of certain promises which God Almighty has made to me, as a sinner; that 'his grace shall be sufficient for me', and many other precious promises!

Under a conviction of my awful transgressions and backslidings; feeling that I am covered with sin, which makes me odious to God, and that I should have been undone without a Saviour; not daring to hope for pardon or acceptance but through his blood, and knowing what a detestable fountain of horrible pollution is within me, from which streams are constantly flowing and defiling my very prayers; naked and undisguised before a heart-searching God, who knows me better than I know myself, I now set my seal and place my name to this, taking God's blessed Word for his instrument; never intending to revoke or change this decision, but meaning it to be a solemn and everlasting bond and obligation. Witness, ye holy angels! I am God's servant; witness, thou, Prince of Hell! I am thy enemy, thy implacable enemy, from this time forth for evermore.²

Benjamin Clarke Cutler"

The man who wrote that—and meant it!—was not going to let his people become complacent, no matter how contrary to his inclination it might be to wound them. In 1845 he preached for two successive Sunday mornings on the sudden death of Rev. Albert Duy, his young Assistant. He says in the first sermon that "he had reserved this morning for the purpose of preaching a funeral sermon for three heads of families, who, within a few weeks, have been taken from this parish by death.—But to neither of the families to which I allude has death come unexpectedly.—The mourning was mitigated, it was softened, it was attempered by consolation." So the three heads of families had to go without their sermon, and the Rev. Albert Duy got two. In the second Cutler spoke

²*Memoirs*, p. 18.

these words, which assuredly sprang from his own struggles not to be too lenient:

“No man out of the pulpit can know the temptation which besets a man who is in it. That temptation is, to preach smooth things,—to say ‘peace, peace, when there is no peace.’—And here I solemnly warn you, my beloved friends, never, by word or deed, to tempt a minister to unfaithfulness upon this point,—especially a young minister. Never, as you value your own souls, and his soul, ask or desire that he should be less faithful than he is. For God knows how many temptations from within and without beset him, to soften the severity of the Divine requirements.”

Modern hearers would not have accused him of unduly softening the requirements. When Mrs. Ann Sands died, after whom the church was named, Cutler again preached two memorial sermons. He speaks of her benevolences, and goes on: “How far does her life throw back into the shade, men of prosperous enterprises and gilded state, who have thousands at their beck, but who, when asked for common contributions to what they themselves acknowledge all-important, turn away with this hollow excuse, ‘I cannot afford it’. What but silence must follow the remains of such to the tomb—silence unbroken, save by the distant thunder of that threatening, ‘these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal!’”. In the same sermon he pays his respects to those “who are striving to put off the harness, and are pleading weariness with the conflict, and have done nothing for years”. “*She* might have been seen at the age of eighty-eight years, mounting up a narrow staircase, to visit an obscure resident of a garret.”

The same sermon suggests that Dr. Cutler was not burdened with too keen a sense of humor. Ann Sands established what another former rector, Bishop Henshaw of Rhode Island, called “an association of serious females”. For twenty years it met at her residence on Monday evenings, for the purpose of reading the word of God, and prayer. Cutler says of this: “In the first place, it furnished an opportunity for the exer-

cise and cultivation of a spirit of devotion, which rose to a remarkable height in her case—to such a height, that most of the prayers which were made in her presence were too short, and fell far below the fervor of her own heart. Her prayers, we are told, were rich, fervent, filial, importunate, and effectual, to a degree unprecedented.” And then he adds, and it could not have been with a smile, for this was a funeral sermon, “it seemed to some she would never stop”! He says, “to the prayers which were thus piously presented before the throne of grace, may, in part, be attributed the uninterrupted success which has followed the ministry of this church from its establishment to the present hour”. And he cites the evidence of this success. “Three of the Rectors who preceded the present have been elevated to the Episcopate; and overtures we understand were made to a fourth, now gone to his rest, to undertake the charge of a north-western diocese, which failed.”

It is hard for us of today to realize how large death and judgment bulked in the religious thought of that time. Or how the Atonement, thought of as the price which Christ paid to turn away the just wrath of God from his sinful children, stood as the very foundation stone of faith. In one of his sermons Cutler pictured the Saviour exhibiting his wounds to God to convince him that the whole debt of humanity had been paid. Salvation meant escaping the horrible punishments of hell. All men deserved these punishments. But there was one way, and only one way, in which they could escape them. That one way was definite and certain. If men did not take it, it was their own fault.

A few quotations from Cutler's sermons will illustrate the scheme of salvation in which he believed. And first, as to human sinfulness.

“Could we see our sins as they seem in the light of heaven, they would appear not only numberless but most criminal and aggravated. Sin would appear in every relation and action of life, and as defiling to us as it is insulting to God. Indeed, so universal on this globe has been the breaking of

God's law, that our general appellation is that of a sinner. This is the name by which we are known in heaven, and when one sinner repenteth, there is joy among the angels above."³

How necessary it was to realize the depth of human sinfulness, both inherited and personal, appears in a sermon "To the Young", commemorating "the short but exemplary life of a pious youth, John G. Fuller, who died on the 10th of August, 1853, aged 17 years". "Think then, first, how you have incurred the displeasure of God—lost his favour and the light of His countenance. Think how many sins you have committed against a holy God. The Scriptures declare that you were born in *sin*, the 'children of wrath'—that is, *you* descended from sinful parents, (as *they* did also). Thus, *you began* life itself with a corrupted nature; you began early to sin and disobey God; and you have lived in sin, committing many actual transgressions. Now, 'the wages of sin is death'—that is, all who commit sin are condemned to die by the law of God; and they remain thus condemned, and the sentence of death, temporal and eternal, is passed on them, until they discover their miserable state, confess their sins, and seek the Lord with an humble and contrite heart."⁴

Only through Christ could mercy reach man. "One point appears to be very evident, that without Christ we should never have been redeemed. When our first parents transgressed the law of God and fell under his displeasure, a sentence of death temporal and eternal was prepared and ready to be executed; and Adam and his whole posterity would have been swept into just and eternal destruction. There would have been no knowledge of the mercy and of the other bright and benevolent attributes of God. The dark desolation of Cain might have, in a degree at least, pervaded the whole race. Without Christ, this not only might, but we are assured would have been our temporal and eternal doom."⁵

The divine law never deviates, and without Christ inevitably works wrath. "The law worketh wrath, the scripture

³*Parochial Sermons*, p. 51.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 64.

saith. The law knows no mercy, no mitigation, no reservation, no respect of persons or things; no imperfect works will pacify it, no good intentions will disarm it; it stands up unmoved, unrelaxed, unflinching, unforgiving and unending in its opposition to sin; opening the windows of heaven at one time and pouring out a flood of water, and lifting up the doors of subterranean fires at another to destroy the transgressors.”⁶

But when the terms by which the just punishment of the divine law may be escaped “are complied with, to the letter, then no room for doubt remains, the matter is settled, the controversy is ended, and the law is on our side. Now, what are these terms? We answer; they are repentance of sin and faith in Jesus Christ! Our Lord Jesus Christ undertook to meet this great adversary (the law of God) and to pay all his demands for those who should repent and believe; and before he left this world, he exclaimed, ‘It is finished’.”⁷

Belief in Christ, acceptance of Christ as Saviour, were the crucial tests which determined salvation or damnation for ever. Cutler asks how wicked men can escape if they neglect to use the means of salvation provided expressly to save them? “The law of God has been satisfied. Jesus Christ died to satisfy the law of God. It is not now their *sins*, although they have most ‘justly provoked God’s wrath and indignation against them’, it is their unbelief and rejection of Christ, which will seal their doom for ever. If they would only *believe*, they might be saved. And how insupportable their self-reproaches through eternity! that they might have escaped all their sufferings, by only believing in Christ; that there were days and weeks and years in which they might have believed; but it is too late for ever.”⁸

How absolutely the individual’s eternal fate depended upon his professing his belief in Christ before he died, even if it were only the last minute before, comes out in this passage from the same sermon “To the Young” from which I have already quoted. “A man is walking on the edge of a preci-

⁶*Parochial Sermons*, p. 228.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 74.

pice, he steps only one foot too far and in the twinkling of an eye he is gone. A house is on fire; a man steps back only one minute to save a trifle, the floor gives way, and he is engulfed in flames. The trifle of one moment was a matter of life and death to him: so it may be with some of you. A trifling delay, a trifling excuse, may contain the seeds of eternal destruction. If death should overtake you one minute before you are ready, one minute would shut the door of hope, and all the angels of heaven could not open it.”⁹

This grim theology is not more strange to us than the habitually pious phraseology of the man who preached it. What young minister now would write, as Cutler did of a young man at Quincy, “he has experienced religion in the most delightful and unquestionable manner”! Or would compose an epistle to his wife like the following, which was written while Cutler was away from home on a brief vacation!

“Saratoga, August 9, 1841.

My Dear ————— . . . We have in this house a quiet, genteel, literary kind of company—some little sprinkling of ‘fashion’, who come here for retirement. I wrote you Mr. and Mrs. W., from Boston were here, and are much with Mrs. McA. Then one of the Murdocks, and Miss K. of Georgia. Then, Dr. W., Dr. S. and wife, Gen. C. and lady, from Providence; and Mrs. Judge O., from New York; and Mr. and Mrs. L., from Brooklyn. So that, at present, the great aim is to find time for reading and retirement. It is really distressing to me to see men so destitute of mental resources. They are wandering about from room to room as ‘through dry places, seeking rest and finding none’. Oh that we all heard with more delight those words, ‘Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will refresh you’! . . . I hope you had a good day yesterday. How happy am I that I chose a follower of the Lamb as a companion for life. Blessed be God that I am thus yoked! The determination of Joshua is more and more my own, ‘As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord!’ . . . I am well, and bless

⁹*Parochial Sermons*, p. 213.

God for all his mercies! a more entirely luxurious resting-place one could hardly have. I hope, however, my Bible and my Saviour will be my great luxuries.¹⁰

‘Make me to love my Bible more,
And take a fresh delight
By day to read its wonders o’er,
And meditate by night!’ ”

The men of those days took their prayer and preaching in large doses. The most dramatic incident in Cutler’s life was his shipwreck, in the packet ship “Sheffield”, off the coast of Long Island, while returning from England with Mrs. Cutler, in November, 1843. After a voyage of thirty-seven days, when almost home and the pilot had been taken on board, the ship struck on Romer Shoal at about one o’clock in the afternoon. It was after midnight before a steamer rescued them, and they had a narrow escape. “Social prayer” was resorted to many times during those hours. And during the night, before the passengers removed to the deck from the cabin because the ship was settling, the Captain requested Dr. Cutler to have prayers. The 46th, the 107th and the 130th Psalms, and the 27th Chapter of the Acts, were read; a hymn was sung, and prayers were offered. Also, “one of the clergymen present selected from the Bible a text, and delivered a short but appropriate discourse, mingling the most pointed and personal application to his hearers, and especially to all who had not as yet publicly decided to be on the Lord’s side”. When a few sparks from the stack of the approaching steamer dispelled the last doubt that a steamer really was approaching, they sang the Doxology. Six hours later the Cutlers were at home, arriving early Sunday morning. He went into the chancel at the evening service. As he entered, the choir sang “A Hymn of Gratitude”, written for the occasion of his return by a teacher in the Sunday School. It was one of four such poems, the other three authors being described as “A Former

¹⁰*Memoirs*, p. 195.

Member of School No. 1", "A Female Friend of a Teacher", and "A Member of St. Ann's".¹¹

A history of the parish, written in 1845, describes a Sunday at St. Ann's. The "children and youth" assemble at nine. "At ten, the Pastor enters to inspect the schools, and to smile on the dear lambs of the flock." At half past ten the morning service begins: Confession, Prayer, Praise, Chanting, Litany, Commandments, Psalms, Hymn, Preaching. At two the children are questioned on the lesson of the day. At three they join the congregation, and re-enter the church for a second service and sermon. "After this the parish library is opened for the use of the congregation, and the children assemble at the libraries of their respective schools, select their books from a thousand at their disposal, and retire with the smiles and often with the caresses of the female teachers." At a quarter past seven there is a third service and "a plain and practical discourse, in the chapel, brilliantly illuminated with gas". Sunday was without doubt The Sabbath, and was kept, in 1845.¹²

But this same history records another incident which testifies to the affection which this stern teacher won. It belongs to his Quincy days. The Young Ladies of the Female Seminary left a basket of freshly gathered flowers at his door on a May morn, together with some verses beginning

"Pastor beloved! at early dawn
We rang'd the hills, the dale, the lawn,
And cull'd their sweets, with meekest care,
For thee this chaplet to prepare."

He answered them in verse too, addressing the Young Ladies as

"Dear lambs! whom Jesus bids me feed
And thro life's rugged path to lead."

¹¹*St. Ann's Church*, pp. 107 and 109.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 115.

But though he can give verse for verse, he cannot lay aside the pastor's habit of exhortation even to acknowledge a May basket. He ends by adjuring them not to pass

"by step too bold
The bounds that mark Christ's peaceful fold
For there the world her snares has spread,
For wandering sheep from Shepherd stray'd."

And down the side of the verses are references to the Ordination Service, and to chapter and verse of books in both the Old and New Testaments.

Kindly, conscientious, prayerful, singleminded, Cutler wielded an enormous influence amongst his people, and under him St. Ann's prospered mightily. His sermons and letters seem to come down from another age. But he is not so far removed as he seems. If the Gospel that he preached seems utterly foreign to our conception of Christian truth, it testifies how fast and far the tides of thought have run.

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THE CENTENNIAL OF THE DIOCESE OF ALABAMA.

WM. G. McDOWELL, *Bishop of Alabama.*

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Alabama has just entered on its second century of life. One hundred years is not long in the history of institutions that are to serve the spiritual needs of men till the end of time, but the first hundred years is always important because it lays the foundation for all that is to come.

The first Episcopal services in Alabama of which we can be sure are those of the Rev. Samuel Hart, a missionary from Charleston, South Carolina, in 1764, following the French and Indian War. South Alabama had been surrendered to the English and continued in their hands for about twenty years. The English garrison and a few traders were the unfruitful soil on which he had to sow his seed. His well meant attempts to convert the Indians were not well received, and he was finally recalled to Charleston. For just sixty years no clergyman of this Church was to minister in Alabama, for it was not till 1824 when the state had been under American ownership for eleven years, that the Rev. William Wall held a service in Florence. However, the first Episcopal Church in Alabama had been previously erected in Mobile in 1822; the non-Roman inhabitants of Mobile united to organize a congregation, agreeing that it would be under the control of the Episcopalians who formed the largest group. There was an understanding that as time went on and the denominational groups became strong enough, they would withdraw and form congregations of their own, with the good will and consent of all concerned; so that Christ Church became the "nursing mother" not only of the Episcopal Church in South Alabama, but of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist Churches as well. They found it difficult to secure an Episcopal minister at first; the only Protestant minister in South Alabama was an Irish Presbyterian, the Rev. Murdoch Murphy, who for

several years acted as the first rector of Christ Church, Mobile.

In 1826 the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church, with headquarters in New York, sent the Rev. Robert Davis to survey the state of Alabama and report on its possibilities. Accordingly he went to Tuscaloosa, the new state Capitol, and organized Christ Church there in 1828. About the same time the Rev. Henry A. Shaw was sent by the Missionary Society to Mobile. Soon after, the Missionary Society asked the Rt. Rev. Thomas C. Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut, to visit the deep South and get the Church organized if possible. Bishop Brownell was about as far away as a Bishop could well be, but he was young, zealous, and courageous. On the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, 1830, Bishop Brownell and his Chaplain met Mr. Shaw, of Mobile, and the Rev. Albert A. Muller, of Tuscaloosa, with about a dozen laymen at Christ Church, Mobile, and there organized the Diocese of Alabama. It was later proposed to unite the Churchmen of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana and call a Bishop, but this did not succeed. Bishop Brownell continued to care for Alabama for several years, when he turned it over to Bishop Otey, of Tennessee. Finally it came under the care of Bishop Polk, of Louisiana.

But the Church could not thrive without a Bishop of its own. Settlers from other states had been moving in and bringing with them the Church of their fathers. Few communities were large enough to command the services of a minister. They needed a Missionary Bishop who would visit them, widely scattered as they were, and prepare them for a larger Church life. After several attempts to secure a Bishop, Dr. Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, a Virginian then working in Cincinnati, was elected. He was consecrated in Philadelphia at General Convention on October 20, 1844, and so the Diocese of Alabama at last had a Bishop of its own.

Never was a Diocese more fortunate in its first Bishop. The early part of his life had been spent as a pioneer, and he knew what it meant to be deprived of the Church that he

loved. Starting life as a schoolmaster, he offered himself for ordination as a missionary. His first thirteen years were spent in rural missionary work. His splendid gifts as a pastor and administrator led his Bishop to give him posts of honor and importance. His call to be Bishop of Alabama was the fourth time he had been seriously sought for such an office. Despite this, he was genuinely humble, transparently sincere, with a winning sweetness of disposition and a devoutness that earned for him the well merited title, "Saint of the Southern Church".

He brought to Alabama the qualities most needed as an evangelist and pioneer. The Diocese was feeble and widely scattered. Tuscumbia, Florence, and Huntsville in the north and Mobile in the south were the only congregations outside of the black belt. Tuscaloosa, Greensboro, Demopolis, Livingston, Yoncosboro, Auburn, Tallassee, Pushmataha, and country churches like St. John's-in-the-Prairies, St. Andrew's, Prairieville, and St. David's, formed his strongest group. There were eight clergymen and less than five hundred communicants, white and black, half of whom lived in Mobile. The Bishop's salary was \$1,500.00 a year, which was sometimes paid, and a large part of his time was spent traveling by buggy and stage from one feeble group to another. He visited every Episcopal family in the state of which he could hear. In seventeen years he wore himself out, but how gloriously did he spend himself! The number of congregations was increased to seventy-eight, the number of clergy to twenty-seven, and communicants to above two thousand, while there were hundreds of baptized Episcopalians among the negroes. It was the Bishop's great care to fill the charges with men of character and ability. The type of Churchmanship was a moderate following of the Oxford movement. The preaching was fervent and evangelical. The Bishop's chief achievements outside of his constant Episcopal labors were an endowment for the Diocese, the organization of a Diocesan Missionary Society, a fund for Disabled Clergy, and Widows and Orphans of Deceased Clergy, and the founding of Hamner Hall, for the edu-

cation of girls. He was one of the founders of the University of the South, Sewanee, and had large visions for the future of the Diocese. A strong Union man, and dreading the approach of war, he died in Montgomery January 11, 1861, an hour before Alabama seceded from the Union.

The Diocese of Alabama now became a part of the Church in the Confederate States. A Bishop to meet the needs of the times was found in Dr. Richard Hooker Wilmer, of Virginia, the only Bishop to be consecrated under the Confederate Church. A man of learning and unusual gifts as a preacher, with very definite convictions and equally definite ways of putting those convictions into action, he came to Alabama when it needed a strong arm to lean upon and a great mind to guide it. Thus entered into the life of the Diocese the greatest personality of its first century. By what strange perversity of fate do great men go down to posterity on the reputation of some minor gift, for the marvelous sermons of Bishop Wilmer are almost forgotten, but the keen thrusts of his brilliant wit are still repeated from father to son.

To Bishop Wilmer fell the duty of guiding the Church through four years of disastrous war which left the Diocese bankrupt and bereft of many of its people. It was his duty to look after the widow and the orphan, to reconstruct both the shattered congregations and institutions and to rekindle the courage and zeal of his Diocese. For nearly forty years he led them the long, hard way of reconstruction to meet the needs of a new South. His outstanding achievements were the founding of the Church Home for Orphans, Mobile; the Order of Deaconesses of Alabama, to care for the orphans and to serve in schools and works of mercy; St. Mark's School, Birmingham, for the education of young Negroes; the fostering of the Church in the new industrial districts such as Birmingham and Anniston; the creation of the Board of Missions.

Under Bishop Wilmer came the transition of the Diocese from country to town. With this came a change in method and emphasis. Services were enriched. Permanent churches of beauty and dignity arose. The clergy maintained the old

tradition of character and consecration, but many of them now came from Alabama soil. The work of women in the Church gained wider recognition. The participation of the laity in Church activities became more pronounced. Despite great migrations to the North and West, the Diocese continued steadily to grow.

Both because of this growth and the increasing weight of years, Dr. Henry Melville Jackson, of Virginia, was made coadjutor to Bishop Wilmer in 1891. He was possessed of brilliant gifts as a preacher and a musician, and for eight years he ministered largely to the churches and institutions in the upper half of the Diocese. His promising career was untimely cut short by a breakdown, and he died a month before his Diocesan, in 1900.

The third Bishop of Alabama was Dr. Robert W. Barnwell, of Selma, a man of warm human qualities and greatly beloved. Although his Episcopate lasted less than two years, too short a period to leave a powerful mark upon the Diocese, yet he has laid the whole Church under his debt as the one who trained and gave to the ministry John Gardner Murray, late Presiding Bishop. In a certain sense Bishop Murray was fulfilling the ministry of his friend and teacher.

In 1902 the Diocese of Alabama turned to Texas, where Dr. Charles M. Beckwith was acting as Diocesan Missionary, and chose him to be its fourth Bishop. He was already well known to the Church through his Trinity Course of Church Instruction and his teaching missions on the Book of Common Prayer. He followed the tradition of his predecessors as a strong upholder of the Church's divine mission. From the early days Church loyalty had been largely parochial and personal. He strove to create a Diocesan consciousness. He was deeply sympathetic with all efforts to build up the rural work and to extend the Church's teaching to new communities. He felt that religious education was the Church's best agency in the present age, and he spent untiring energy on building up church schools and promoting teaching missions. His own best gifts were those of the teacher. His sermons were

noted for the power of illustration with which he drove home his convictions. The last six years of his Episcopate were shared with his coadjutor, William G. McDowell, who succeeded him upon his death in 1928.

At the present time the Diocese of Alabama has above one hundred congregations with more than ten thousand communicants and fifteen thousand baptized persons. The clergy number fifty, with a goodly number of young men preparing for the Sacred Ministry.

The present outlook of the Diocese is most hopeful. Its clergy and laity are influential in State and Church far beyond their numbers. The Church is honored and trusted by those outside her fold as never before. The Diocese has taken a strong position of loyalty to the National Church, especially in upholding the Church's Program. In the last few years it has given two missionary Bishops and a number of others to the missionary work of the Church, thus repaying the Church's missionary care of Alabama one hundred years ago. The Church is ministering to the isolated mountaineer, the Negro, the Indian, the seafarer, the industrial community, the rural field, the city dweller. It is organized for service along the departmental lines of the National Council. The consecration of its clergy and the stewardship of its laity stand out as wholesomely in this day of financial stringency as in the recent times of so-called prosperity. The Diocese is sound at heart, in life and purpose, and faces its next century with confidence and courage.

NOTES ON THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

(Compiled by the Editor.)

TENNESSEE.

1832. Organization of Calvary Church, Memphis.

"Nashville, September 4 (1832). Extract of a letter from an Episcopal clergyman in the Western District. 'At Memphis, Calvary Church has been organized under auspicious circumstances; and I trust, from the materials of which it is composed, that it will exist as long as the mighty river on whose banks it now rears its head. At Randolph a congregation may soon be formed. From \$150 to \$200 will be given here for a third or fourth of a minister's time, and I think a small church may easily be erected. We now only want three or four faithful ministers, and a bishop, and the Church must succeed.'"

(The Churchman, Vol. II, page 315.)

"T. W."

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.

1832. Organization of St. Peter's Church, Tecumseh.

"A respectable meeting of the friends of the Episcopal Church, was held in this place agreeably to a previous notice, for the purpose of organizing a parish. The Rev. Mr. Freeman of Ypsilanti, being on a visit, was called to the chair, and P. P. Galatian, appointed secretary. On motion, it was

"RESOLVED, That a Society be formed in connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, which was accordingly done, under the style and name of St. Peter's Church, in the town of Tecumseh, county of Lenawee and Territory of Michigan, and the following officers chosen. Peter P. Galatian and George Spafford, War-

dens; S. C. Boughton, J. B. M'Ray, N. Hewit, D. R. Burt, S. Blanchard, J. W. Brown, and H. Budlong, *Vestrymen*.

"Tecumseh, September 2, 1832."

From the *Detroit Journal*.

CALIFORNIA.

1854. Consecration of Grace Church, San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 12, 1854.

To the Editors of the Church Journal:

Last Sunday was the interesting occasion of the consecration of Grace Church, in this city—the first consecration service held in the diocese. Grace Church parish was the first organization of the Church in California. Its first house of worship, called Grace Church, was erected in December 1849. In May, 1850, the Rev. Dr. Ver Mehr, then resident Missionary, was called to its rectorship. To the faithful labor of this servant of Christ, in the face of obstacles seemingly insurmountable and nowhere to be encountered except in the then peculiar state of society in California, is it mainly owing that a commodious house of worship, free from all encumbrance, is now unreservedly consecrated to the service of Almighty God.

The church was filled to overflowing at an early hour. At the appointed time the Bishop,¹ attired in full canonicals, and attended by the clergy present, was received at the door of the church by the wardens and vestrymen. The procession, led by the Bishop, and composed of the clergy present, the wardens and vestrymen of Grace Church and the invited wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church moved up the middle aisle, the Bishop and clergymen by whom he was attended went within the rails, and the vestrymen took seats in front. The instrument of donation was read to the congregation by the Rev. C. B. Wyatt, Rector of Trinity Church, and then presented to the Bishop, sitting in his chair, and by him laid upon the Altar. After the Exhortation and following prayers

¹The Rt. Rev. W. Ingraham Kip, Bishop of California.

of the Consecration Service, the Sentence of Consecration was read by the Rev. Dr. Ver Mehr. The proper psalms were chanted by the united choirs of Grace and Trinity Churches. Dr. Ver Mehr then proceeded in the regular service of the day, Rev. Dr. Clark reading the Lessons, and Rev. C. B. Wyatt reading the Litany. The Bishop read the ante-Communion service, the proper Collect, Epistle and Gospel, and, after the singing of the 100th Psalm, proceeded to the sermon, having for his text, "Who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things." Heb. viii., 5. The discourse, delivered with the Bishop's characteristic force and eloquence, if we may judge from our own feelings, reached the minds and moved the hearts of his large auditory, and we believe many went their way resolved to give mere earnest heed to the "shadow of heavenly things."

The choral service of the day, although without the assistance of an organ, was performed with an excellence rarely to be enjoyed even in the churches of your favored city.

Our brethren at the East can scarcely appreciate the interest we feel in an event of so frequent occurrence among them as the consecration of a church.

No one who has not been in California can know how the cause of the Church has suffered here, how few even of her own children have given a hand to lift her from the dust, and how destitute she still is. Therefore it is that those who have known the blessings dispensed from her well supplied altars at the East feel a deep interest in this event; and for these indications of the dawn of a better day for the Church in California, gratefully thank the Church's great Founder and Head. We trust that the day of her most despairing weakness is past, and as heaven has graciously sent us a chief pastor of ability and zeal, we look, in faith, to see his labor crowned with heavenly fruit.

E.

ILLINOIS.

1864. Consecration of Trinity Church, Chicago.

CONSECRATION OF TRINITY CHURCH.—Trinity Church, Chicago, was solemnly consecrated to the service of Almighty God, on Sunday, 24th ult., by Bishop Whitehouse. Although the weather was very unfavorable, a good congregation assembled to witness the interesting ceremony, the climax of years of labor and devotion, and to hear a sermon from the former able rector of Trinity, the Rev. N. H. Schenck. The Bishop was assisted in the services by eight clergymen, the rector of the parish, Rev. G. D. Cummings, D. D., Rev. E. M. Van Deusen, D. D., of Pittsburgh Pa., Rev. N. H. Schenck, of Baltimore, Md., Rev. Henry Sapfford, of Oberlin, Ohio, and Rev. Messrs. Cheney Freeman, Stout and Smith, of this city. At the close of Morning Prayer, the rector made an earnest and feeling appeal to the congregation, now that God had so blessed them that their beautiful church was free and consecrated, they should go forward still in well doing, and furnish that which was still lacking to the completion and unity of their organization, viz., a house for the pastor of the flock, a rectory. Rev. Mr. Schenck followed with a few remarks in the same direction, urging, that as the flock had now a house, so also should the shepherd. The collection amounted to over nine thousand dollars.

The sermon by the Rev. N. H. Schenck was a masterly effort, both in eloquence and ability. The subject was, "Christ as a Preacher", from the text, St. Matthew iv. 17: "From that time Jesus began to preach." (*N. W. Church.*)

FLORIDA.

1864. St. Paul's, Key West, Florida.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, KEY WEST, FLORIDA.—From March 30, 1863, to March 28, 1864. The receipts from Sunday offerings, for the expenses of the parish, are as follows:

1863—April	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$	222	83
May	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		200	93
June	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		132	12
July	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		123	44
August	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		149	17
September	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		79	12
October	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		88	71
November	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		165	88
December	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		129	83
1864—January	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		196	11
February	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		157	91
March	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		342	06

 \$1,988 11

Received from H. Benner, New York,									100	00
“ “ Officers of the <i>De Soto</i> ,									60	00
Collection for Sunday School Books,									48	65

 Making the total receipts, \$2,196 76

The expenditures have been—

For Salary of Rector,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,000	00
For Salary of Sexton and Assistant,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	71	00
Debt for Church Extension,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	564	29
Sunday School Books,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	92	85
Rev. O. E. Herrick. Addition to Salary,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	412	64
For oil, &c.,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	98

 Total, \$2,196 76

The necessary expenses for the ensuing year will be—

For Salary of Rector,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,000	00
For Salary of Sexton,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	00
For oil, chimneys, &c.,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	00
For new windows for old part of church,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	00
For fence around the church lot,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	600	00

 GEORGE D. ALLEN, *Treasurer.*

Key West, March 28th, 1864.

Free seats, Weekly communion. Daily service. The only parish in the seceded States in which the prayers for the President and Congress of the United States have not been interrupted.—*Gospel Messenger*.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A CHRISTIAN AND A CHURCHMAN. *By the Reverend Edward Slater Dunlap, Canon of Washington Cathedral.* Published by Washington Cathedral in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of George Washington's birth. Pp. 18. Contains an excellent list of references down to 1898.

DEAN STURGES, AN APPRECIATION. *By Rev. Edward Sullivan, D. D.* Published by the Committee in charge of arrangements for the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the installation of the Dean. Pp. 15. An Address delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston, November 1, 1931.

THE CHURCH MILITANT. *Magazine of the Diocese of Massachusetts.*

THE SOUTH-WESTERN EPISCOPALIAN. Organ of the Diocese of South-western Virginia.

THE CHURCH IN STORY AND PAGEANT. *By Water and the Word.* A Pageant of Missions by Ethel Bain. The Church Missions Publishing Company. Hartford, Connecticut. Pp. 58. A Pageant of nine Episodes with Prologue and Epilogue illustrating the coming of the Church from the visit of Thomas Heriot to the founding of the Alaskan Mission.

VOLUME I.

DECEMBER, 1932

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OF THE

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NOTICES

All communications, including manuscripts and books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Garrison, N. Y.

The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Volume I

DECEMBER, 1932

No. 4

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The present issue brings to a close the first year of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. The editors are very grateful for its kindly reception by individuals and by the press, especially our own Church Papers. Many suggestions of value have been made concerning the future. The promoters are well aware that of necessity its appeal is to a limited number of Church people. But the hope is cherished that the material which for the first time has been made available in these pages will be a help to the larger understanding of the life of this Church. It is good to look at the pit from which we have been dug and the rock from which we have been hewn. It may be of interest to note that quite recently an application for copies of the MAGAZINE was received from the leading bookseller of Milan, Italy.

There are many indications of revived interest in the study of the History of the Christian Church and of the American Church in particular. In the General Theological Seminary Professor Gavin has a post-graduate group of men who are taking Church History quite seriously. In this course great stress is laid upon the importance of both primary and secondary sources and in this way the men are getting valuable training in the true methods of historical research. Already there is keen rivalry among the men to discover unworked historical periods and some excellent papers have been presented.

The editors look forward to the second year with genuine hope. It must be frankly stated that the MAGAZINE is not yet out of the woods financially. We have been compelled to draw to some extent on the guarantee fund. Two things are needed to put the enterprise on a firm footing. We need revenue from advertising. We need also additional yearly subscriptions. There will be some inevitable loss in renewals. That loss will have to be made up, and new subscribers obtained. An additional fifty subscriptions would enable us to meet all costs of publication. We could clear all expenses if we had an average of six subscribers from each of the dioceses of the Church. Inasmuch as the editors, the treasurer and the contributors of articles receive no compensation whatever, they feel they can properly appeal to the clergy and laity to become subscribers to the MAGAZINE. We therefore ask that you will promptly renew your subscription and do whatever is possible to aid us in enlarging the number of regular readers.

Attention is drawn to the notice concerning the binding of the first year's volume to which will be added an index. In the course of the years such a publication as this, whatever its tenure, is apt to become quite valuable and sought after by collectors. The two volumes of the Collections of the Church Historical Society, published in the Fifties, are now very difficult to obtain at any cost. This is a word to the wise.

LETTERS OF THE REVEREND DOCTOR JEREMIAH
LEAMING TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR SAM-
UEL PETERS, LOYALIST REFUGEE IN
LONDON, AND ONE TIME BISHOP
ELECT OF VERMONT.

(Continued from page 142.)

The Reverend Samuel Peters

Pimlico

London

Notation

Leaming Rev^d

June 19 1787

recd Sep 29

Answ^d Oct 6

& 12.

Stratford June 19. 1787.

My dear friend.

Birdseyes letter May 25. 1787.

I have rec^d Your favor of March the 28th, in which you inform me You are become a Grandfather: and that you wrote that Letter out of Spite, and abuse me Sufficiently for not sending Bp Seaburys Second Charge. I suppose Brother Hub^d was so much engaged to send them to You, that he forgot to send any to me: and You had no reason to blame me for not sending to You, when I had none for myself.

I see in the London papers, at Lambeth they talk of a Bp for Nova Scotia, but cannot find a proper person for it. Why is it, that you do not step forward and point out one for them, for You know what man will answer, in that province, Since Doc^r C-r² has dropt the thot of a Mitre.

Before I rec^d your Letter, I sent a Letter, with a number

¹Rev. Dr. Bela Hubbard.

²Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler. Dr. Chandler was then in London and declined the Bishopric of Nova Scotia eventually returning to his former parish at Elizabeth New Jersey.

of pamphlets to Mr Rivington at N York to be forwarded to you, without Expence. had I rec^d yours first, I would have sent it in a way to make you pay postage. However all quar- riling aside. I must inform you, that when I rec^d your Letter to Tyler, I read it; and there was many things confuted, which I supposed Tyler had not advanced. For I had not heard him say a word on the subject: and supposed them too puerile to be offered by a man of Sense, such as he was. but since that, I have heard him talk much upon the Subject; and then it put me upon taking another View of your Letter to Tyler: and must say, it is a compleat Confutation of all his childish Nonsense. And I thank you for doing Justice to the Truth.

I really are more desirous to see You than any one else, tho you have abused me so much, for supposing other men, meant as honestly as I did; when they made the highest professions of friendship towards me. I do not condemn a man, till he has proved himself a vilian. I have had the misfortune to be used in a base manner, by three men, who made the greatest professions of friendship, and the most Solemn promises to me, of their Sincere desire to serve me in anything, which lay within their power; while they had neither a Design nor Intention to do it. They were all three, more beholden to me, than a little, nay than to any one else; from thence, I supposed, their professions of friendship were owing to a Spirit of Gratitude; when there was nothing that was farther from their real Design. *O tempera, o mores.*—But notwithstanding these men had betrayed the sacred ties of friendship; and that I have by my weakness in favor of B. Gov^t, had the misfortune to loose between four and five thousand pounds; yet I thank God, I am better of, than either of the three; that have taken so much pains to keep me beneath them. What little Character I ever had, Still remains, while theirs is of such a nature, that if I was to preach a funeral Sermon for either, this should be my Text, *By this time he Stinketh.*

I am not the only man, that has been chosed by the triumvirate, Bp Seabury had his share of it; for one of them rec^d a

pension of £200 p An. for writing the peice *A. W. Farmer*:³ when they all three knew, Doc S-y⁴ was y^e author. neither was either of them able to write it; so that if I have been a fool, I have got good company: If that can be any Consolation. There is another misfortune attends me, I have always been diffident of my own abilities; while others, who it may be, had no better, could exalt themselves to the highest. I am very much rejoiced to hear that Justice Stokes and family are well. make my Comp^{ts} acceptable to him, and to Mr and Mrs Jarvis; I am doing the best I can for your Sons Education. I have planned it so, that I have got a young man to board with him who will teach him well. I wonder You do not send a power to some one to take the use of your Estate for your Son. I have heard you have the Degree of D. D.—I want that matter ascertained.

I am with every Sentiment of Love, Esteem and Regard

Your most affectionate

Eusebius.

I have wrote in a great Hurry, and have not time to copy this Letter; which I should not fail to do when writing to a Critick. Do not fail to write me as often as you can, for I have no other correspondent in England.

You say, we are united in disorder, and want of wisdom. We have just found it out. But still we do not know w^t to do. We are in y^e same predicament with You at Home, over head and ears in debt.

³Three pamphlets were published in 1774: 1. "Free thoughts on the Proceedings of the continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774", "By a Farmer"; 2. "The Congress Canvassed, or an Examination into the conduct of the delegates at their Grand Convention, held in Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1774, Addressed to the Merchants of New York", "By A. W. Farmer": 3. A View of the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies", "By A. W. Farmer". The authorship of these pamphlets was attributed to various writers, including Seabury. Rev. Jonathan Boucher in his volume of Sermons, "View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution", attributes the authorship of the pamphlets to Seabury, although the British Government actually granted a pension for this service to another person. For a full discussion of this question of Memoir of Bishop Seabury by William Jones Seabury, D. D. (New York: Edwin S. Gorham. 1908. Pp. 166-170.)

⁴Dr. Samuel Seabury.

Note.

On the address face of this letter is written the following:

"Oh Chandler, Auchmuty & Vardil-Trio"

"Good Leaming, Cooper, Jarvis, Hubbard, Scovil, Andrews

deceived by the Trio".⁵

Mr Samuel Peters

Pimblico

London

Notation

Leaming Rev

Sep 10. 1787

rec^d Nov 2^d

Answ^d 6

Sep 10. 1787.

My dear Sir,

In what have I offended, that hath caused you to forget your old friend? I want much to hear from you. But it must not be in the political Line; for my letters of late, have their Seals broke; and you know what is y^e Design, when such things are done.

There is nothing but disappointment in trade, and consequently nothing but poverty to be heard of. Oh! I am mistaken; there is pride, discontent, confusion, and every evil work, cry aloud, to be gratified. And yet we are so bewildered, that we cant believe there is either of these things in the Land. To Speake the truth, we are proud of our Humility. You may think this is impossible; but depend upon it, it is true; it is a Self evident Truth, therefore, do not Scruple to affirm it.

If poverty will make us good Christians, we shall excel all the world. But I have my fears; we shall notwithstanding our poverty go on in the way of the world, seeking for happiness where it cannot be found. There is a certain set of people making Infidels as fast as they can, by preventing children from being made Christians by baptism, unless their parents were in *full Communion*. In many of the Towns

⁵Auchmuty was a one time rector of Trinity Church, New York; Cooper was Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, one time president of King's College, New York; Leaming, Bela Hubbard, Scovil, Andrews, were clergy of Connecticut—all Loyalists.

there are 500 Or 600—that are grown up: and still have not been baptized, that is remains heathen. In a few years, the greatest part of the Congregations, will be such. No matter whether they make any profession of Religion, if they go to meeting and set by a pillar, or in a certain pew; they are Christians, nay good Christians, if they do not hear one word in ten; and do not believe one in twenty that they do hear. And I may say, it would be better to believe nothing, than to suppose they are X^{ns}, without Baptism.

Every Invention is at work, to prove that Religion is not Divine, y^t the Officers are not Divine, and the Ordinances are not Divine. If the people can be brot into these Sentiments, there is an end of all Religion at once. I cant but hope, there is yet some method will be discovered, to bring the Truth to Light, that hath been so long burried under the Seabrooke platform. In rubish of the old temple perhaps, may be found, that old Book, which will teach us the Truth—and shew Religion to come from heaven.

It seems M^d will have some Religion; and the old Serpent will engage their utmost attention to Religion, provided it is not the *true*; and accordingly they are led captive at his will—And there is so many Sorts, every one may chuse that he like, and yet chuse a false Rel. God grant that y^e true may yet take root.

While I was writing this Letter, I hear B^r H^{d1} has rec^d a Large packet from you, but not so such a Scrip for that old croked fellow, that you know has more Love for you than a 1000 of the great; tho you will continue to abuse him Yet, either by neglect, or a more severe conduct, raising his hopes, in order to disappoint. What is become of y^e great man who waited so long for a mitre; and now says, Why are y^e wheels of his Chariot so long in coming? never mind it he has haughty patience; and that will endure all things, hope all things; even hope against hope. However all may yet be right, if we can find the old Book. that it may be so, is the earnest wish of all pious men. And thus prays, your old friend..... keep your own Counsels, and mine. And yet be a man of my own heart, and you shall be my appolo-

²Your orthodoxy, Piety, Morality & charities are Damning

¹Rev. Bela Hubbard.

²This paragraph appears to be in a different handwriting. There is no signature to the letter.

Sins in England & in all Europe—Infidelity & Policy make
Bishops & give rich livings, when covered with Smiles

Reverend Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London.

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
Nov 9, 1787
recd March 10, 178
1788
Answ^d 24-

Punkin Town Nov 9. 1787

My dear Sir,

I find you complain that I do not write to you; which is a mistake; altho I do not like to accuse you of mistakes: but am obliged to do it now in my own defense, for have wrote to you four times, since have rec^d any Letter from you. It may be they are not yet rec^d: but few Oppor^s present to London. And I desired Mr. R.¹ in N. York, not to send them by way of Falmoth: as there are a number of pamphlets which might put an expense upon you. Have made matters as easy for you as I could. Every thing ought to be easy, when it is so easy to be made a Bp. and so easy to conduct y^t Business after they are made. Had I known this before, I should not have been so diffident as I have been. I have not Vanity enough to think myself equal to some that are Bps, but perhaps this may be the Effects of old age. Be it so: no matter, old age, is good enough: provided tis thot to be able to defend the Doc^{es} and Discipline of the Chh. as it is in fact, when they want any Support they run to the old man. When it is printed will send you a copy, to return the Compt^t, of an excellent Serⁿ you preached at Dr Moffatts funeral. upon further consideration I will turn over a new leaf with you. And call you to acc^t for neglecting an old friend, because of the Infirmities of age, hath crept upon him, He is yet capable of friendship, and can by no means, be willing to be buried before he is dead.

¹Mr. Rivington, New York and London bookseller.

I want much to know what your future prospects are, which I have never been able to learn from you, or anyone else. I should suppose, that if the prospects of the Clergy, that are gone to N Scotia, are as good, as they imagine, you would have taken your choice of the parishes there. But as you did not, I conclude, they are all, mistaken in their Views. And it will turn out to be a court Scheme, to get them there; and after a few years, drop them out of the tale of the Cart. I do Suppose you would have gone there, had you have known that a certain man² would have rid into that province upon Dr. C-nose³

Many there, love him, as well as you do; the Bandelet of his Mitre, will be very tite, notwithstanding all his hautiness.

Your dear Son will carry this Letter to you. and I pray God to grant him a safe passage; and may God bless the Child; and make him a comfort to you; which will give me great pleasure.⁴

You know when my friendship is fixed it is immovable, unless something is brought upon the Stage, that will mar the best of all our Enjoyments.

You certainly are a pure divine & Prophet—having a right Notion concerning Man in times of Yore & the present Age—

May I have your friendship during Life, and enjoy a Blessed Eternity with you. Thus prays

Yours affectionate

Eusebius.

P. S. I know, I have not right to ask an Excuse for Sended you a hastely Letter. No, Political affairs must pass between you and me.

²The reference is apparently to Dr. Charles Inglis, who became the first Bishop of Nova Scotia.

³Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

⁴William Birdseye Peters was the son of Dr. Samuel Peters by his third wife, Mary Birdseye, to whom he was married in 1772. She died three weeks after the birth of William in 1774. He joined his father in England in 1784 and was educated there. Later he came to Canada, where he was till the War of 1812. He then returned to Connecticut and from there to Alabama, where he died.

Reverend Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London.

Notation.
Leaming Rev^d
June 25. 1788
rec Oct. 2
Answ^r Nov.

New Stratford or Independence
June 25. 1788.

My dear Sir,

I am now set down to write an answer to four Letter rec^d from you. They were, that is the three first, were dated Oct the 6th. and the 12th; and Nov^r 6, 1787. These Letters didnt come to hand till Feb. and March; when I was engaged in writing Dissertations &c so I concluded not to answer them till those Dissertations were printed. A copy of which I now send you. and wish it may come Safe to hand. And the fourth Letter dated the 2^d April 1788, I rec^d this day.

The reason why my Letters, did not arrive to you as soon as common, was, because I desired Mr. Revington not to send them unless in a ship for London. I hope we are not quite so bad as you imagine. In the Piece I send, you will find, I have Spoke plain, and not spared any, that deviate from the Church, when it was first planted by the Apostles, under Inspiration, with the same Commission that Christ rec^d from his Father. If I do not understand the Office of modern Bps, you will see, I hope, that I understand y^e Office of ancient Bp. as to the Bp of , he will not eat morrow pudding, unless some one else provides y^m. As to the Snares that are laid to catch ambitious men, I am exempt from the Danger; for if it had not been for my diffidence, I should have accepted of the Honor offered me. I wish you would tell me, what Snares are laid, that can endanger us— I know, that Fr y has proposed to model the affairs of these States, according to his own Views, in Chh and State. and to form all the people here, upon the plan of Unitarians. This he will not be able to do, if the Chh will be as careful in this point, as it ought to be. And we shall be unmoveable, unless we depart from our former Character. There is one, that as long as he is able to hold his pen, who will defend the Chh against all those that attack her. And altho, you may say, he does not write

with the Spirit, which formerly dictated his pen; Yet if they make any reply to him, it will Stir up his fire, that hath been burried with ashes of old age. When he is writing for the Chh, he feels a young Soul, reviving in an old Body.

Your Son, Birdseye Peters, went from here to N York, to go and see you; but when he came to N York, his heart failed him, and he returned to this place. I wrote you by him, but you do not mention the receipt of that Letter.

Whether your Son will now go home, upon the Invitation you give him, is with me, a matter of doubt. I should think by the abuse you are casting upon the poor Americans, you had an absolute hatred to us; were it not, that you sometimes let something slip from your pen, which shews, after all your sourness is mingled with a double Acid, you have a Love for the Clergy of this State. And I must say, you would be more happy, provided you come to this Town, and lived with your Father, and take care of his affairs, which he is not able to do himself. And as little worth as I am, I doubt not but that we should in the cloudy part of Life, enjoy some pleasure, in each others company. If you were to be here only six months you might get your Estate into your own hands. You cant depend upon any that you have employed. They cant Do in that affair as you can. with every Sentiment of Esteem, regard and love, I am, your ever affectionate
Eusebius.

I am not able to give any acc^t concerning Mr. Reed—have not had time to make enquiry; I shall write as soon as I have. and suppose that Letter will reach you before this: I desire Mr. Rivington not to send this, till he can send it, without postage—

Reverend Samuel Peters
London.

Notation.
Leaming Rev^d
Aug 29, 1788.
rec^d Nov. 16
by my Son—
Answ^d Nov. 17.

Stratford Aug^t 29. 1788.

Dear Sir,

Have this day rec^d your Letter dated 13 June. And am not a Little Surprised to find, That you have deserted your

old principles, and gone over to Dr. Stiles exactly: If he had the Letter you wrote me, he would hug you to Death. I cant but wonder w^t there is in the Air of London, and all other Cities, to convert men, Who are honest, to turn Dissenters.

I have sent you my *Dissertations*; and I suppose it will mortify you beyond measure, to find, That y^r old friend hath made himself contemptible in y^e Eyes of all Europe, (as you express it) by assert the Truth. I have not taken my Maxims, from common Law; not consulted what Christ *might have done*; but what in fact, *he has Done*. Had I known you had deserted the Church Christ has appointed, I would not have given you occasion to blush on my acc^t, among your European protestants. However, you must get along as you can; as all other Dissenters do—Ephraim is joined to his Idols—Dr F. y- St-s Billy Whig. I wonder you have sent for your Son: Dr. Stiles could have taught him, all your Creeds, and would have exalted him and you, to the highest Heaven, along with Gov^r T—And the G will be so well pleased that he will give you the Right hand of fellowship.

I must say, it is unaccountable to me how you could get y^e Cant of y^e party so *soon*, and so *exact*. The Dissenters were for ever, when I was in College, dinning in my Ears, *with y^e protestant Line of y^e Royal House of Hanover*—When y^e English, Stiled themselves the *reformed Chh*. I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now; for when men are newly converted, they are too eager and warm to be informed, altho they might possibly be in Error.

When y^e world has once begun to use us ill, it afterwards continues with the less Ceremony. And the man that despises it, has overcome it. You have let nose escape, in your last Letter, which you have not in any you have sent me four years past I suppose you imagine he is dead. I expect I should hear you repeat, the Dutch proverb, *He that cuts off his Nose, spoils his face*. But you never forget the other Dr. He is the lost Sheep wandering in the mountains of— But Solaces himself, y^t *when true Genius appears, all y^e Dunces are in confederacy against him*.

I am not over Anxious about obtaining the good opinion of your European protestants, for they have contrives so as to rob me of more than £4000; when they promised it should

be made good to me, altho they never designed it. And I was so incredulous as to believe it. Bought wit they say is y^e best; but mine is too large a purchase. However it is no great to me. I am far advanced in Life, and provided I have acted right, as I believe I have, I know I shall receive a better reward than they can give. so shall be content. with the hope, that Religion affords: notwithstanding it is so contemptible in Eyes of all Europe— I have been in hopes, that You, and I should meet in y^e same mansions of Bliss in another world: But as you have turned Dissenter, my hopes are at an end for tho suppose y^e Dissenters have mansions of happiness in that world, perhaps they will not be the same of those of the true Chh—may you see the truth, is the prayer of your most aff. friend

Eusebius.

wrote in great haste.

Mr Peters.

The Reverend Doctor
Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
March 17, 1789
rec^d May 21
Answ^d May 28

Stratford March 17. 1789

Dear Sir,

I have received two Letters from you, the last dated the 18 Nov^r.— for which you have my hearty thanks. You give such an Acc^t of the Chh in England, that I am surprised that you do not wish to come here, and enjoy the benefits of a true Apostolical Chh.

I suppose you believe that Christ hath a Chh in some part of y^e world; in which there are the same officers as were first appointed by the Apostles. And is not Connecticut the place where such a Chh may be found?

In short, the truth is, there is two sorts of people, the *world*, and the *Chh of Christ*, that is chosen out of the world. These Latter hold fast to the Faith once delivered to the

Saints; they have turned their backs upon the world, and Set their faces toward Zion. And altho the world should say to us, as festus did to St. Paul, *thou art beside thyself, thou art mad*, yet we shall esteem it a favour to be called fools for Christ's sake; and we with all those who despise us, altogether such as we are, except our Poverty.

It appears strange to me, to hear a man of sense, Argue in this manner, the world have not believed the truth, therefore I will not—

What Signifies it to multiply words in the Case? Ephraim is joined to his Idols, therefore let him alone. Yet be assured, you will always have a Sincere friend in

Eusebius.

P. S. Phebee* joins with Eusebius in the warmest regard to Mr and Mrs Jarvis.

The Rev^d Dr Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
London

Notation
Leaming Rev^d Dr
Nov 2. 1789
received Feb 7. 1-90
Ans -Mar 14.90
by Woolsey

Stratford Nov 2. 1789.

My very dear Sir,

Notwithstanding all your Scolding about the baseness of the times, you have preached and published a most excellent Sermon, and favoured me with a Copy of it, for which You have my hearty thanks; as it atones for all your Exccentricities in another Line.

I have to acknowledge your very much esteemed favours of the 28th of May, and the 4th of Aug. last. You desire to know what passes here in our Chh: we are endeavouring to put our Southern Chh¹, upon a Christian foundation which I think will be effected; they now desire we may be in union

*Mrs. Leaming.

¹The term "Southern Church" is used in these letters to designate the Episcopal churches outside New England.

with them upon such a plan, that I hope will turn to advantage. Bp Seabury is now gone to Phil^a and two of his Clergy—Hubbard and Jarvis; in order y^t something may be done properly in the affair. I hear that Bp S. presides at the Convention.² And for that reason hope there will be a new turn for the better, as I hear he has been very much carists there, and Bp White³ is his fast friend; tho you have prophesied no Good to come from that man: yet if he should actually upon Trial be found to embrace the Truth, I suppose you will not refuse him absolution, in as much as you say some presbyterians are gone to heaven because they repented. I begin to think, that you are full as much pledged with them, as you say I am. however let that matter be as it may, I am much pleased to find that you are not quite turned Mohomatant; Yet I have my fears, as you have no wife, and that Religion promises so much pleasure with the fine Ladies in the other world, and some of them in this; it may be well for you, to enquire a little about ye Evidence given for what is esserted by that sort of people. I imagine you will not take matters upon Trust, without seeing your way clear. So that I have some hopes you will yet, notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Christian world, not leave us intirely, but will join with the Scotch Bps, as you seem to have some small Value for them. I hope you will maturely consider this matter. It is a great thing to change Religion. And especially exchange a good one, for a bad one. And the only reason why the change was made, was the bad Lives of those who made a profession, and not from any Errors in the Religion itself. If the mahomatant Rel could better things, upon which you prity value yourself, there might be some excuse for you. If it could give you more Beauty, or more wit, or more politeness, or more knowledge, or more Benevolence, or more honesty, or more Sincerity, or

²The difficulties which threatened to divide the churches in New England from the other States were finally settled at an adjourned meeting of the General Convention which commenced September 29, 1789, in Philadelphia. On October 2nd Bishop Seabury, together with Bela Hubbard and Abraham Jarvis, deputies from Connecticut, and Samuel Parker, representing Massachusetts and New Hampshire, signed the modified Constitution of the Church and took their seats in the Convention.

³Bishop of Pennsylvania.

more Benevolence, or more Love for the poor Americans; there might be some Excuse urged in your favour; but for a man possessed with all these Endowments, to change his Rel, is absolutely preposterous.—and I make no doubt, when you View the Subject in this Light you will, be of y^e same mind with an old friend, who loves you so much, that he wishes to enjoy Heaven with you, and some other Saints, who have that Benevolence which those Blessed Regions above are constantly chanting in Halalugahs to the Redeemer of Sinful mortals. adieu my dear Sir

J. Leaming.

Dr Peters.

want of health prevented my going to Phila. but am now in some measure recovered.

Doc^r Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
London

a Copy
Notation
Leaming Rev^d
August 6. 1790
Recd Jany 12. 91.

New York Aug^t 6. 1790.

Dear Sir,

The Complaint I have labour under for several years has now taken possession of my hands, am Scarce able to hold a pen, yet cannot fail to answer your Letter dated March 14—for w^h fav^r you have my hearty thanks. I have a heart yet, tho have not much use of my hands.

Dr Madison is elected Bp for Virⁿ, and is now on his passage for London for ought that I know; have not heard that he has sailed. Pro-t¹ refused to join in consecrating him; w^t will be the result, cannot say—

I am not able to do the Duty of my parish, or that I shall be soon; and I should not chuse to preach till the people might say, I wish y^e old man w^d leave off preaching; accordingly

¹Samuel Provoost, Bishop of New York.

have given up my parish to James Sayre²—and have removed to N Y, to spent the Close of Life in private, at w^h place I shall be glad to receive your Commands.

Before I left Stratford, I took care that Mr. Birdseye should make his will. I drew it for him and made it exactly according to his own Inclination; and must say, it is done as it ought to be—he has ordered that his whole Estate shall be equally divided between his two Grandsons—

You as a friend will excuse my blunders, for am not able at present to transcribe this Letter, as it is too painful for me to do it. my love to your good family, dear sir, concludes me your aff Friend—&c.

J. L.

Doctor Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
London.

Notation
Leaming Rev.
29 Octob 1790
recd Dec 23. 90

(This, and the letter following, dated, Nov. 17, 1790, refers to the claim on the British Government by Dr Leaming for compensation for losses incurred during the War of the Revolution.)

New York Oct 29, 1790

Dear Sir,

I have been strangely disappointed in my application to Government for Compensation for the Losses I sustained. The first I sent to London in 1784, to the care of Bp Seabury. He

²The Rev. James Sayre had a troubled career in the Church. In 1771 he was admitted to the Bar of New York; then entered the ministry and became a chaplain to a British regiment, which post he resigned in 1777 "impelled by distress, severity of treatment and by duty" (Sabine: *Loyalists*. Vol. II, p. 265). He appears to have ministered at Brooklyn, N. Y., for a time, and later in Connecticut. Under date of July 17, 1786, Bishop Seabury recommended him to be rector of Trinity Church, Newport, R. I. (Mason: *Annals of Trinity Church*, pp. 179-181), and he entered on his ministry there on August 6. In 1790 he removed to Stratford. He entered a formal protest against the proceedings of the General Convention of 1789 and fell under ecclesiastical censure. Before his death in 1798 it was discovered that he was insane.

did not receive it. Afterward I sent my papers concerning that affair to Nova Scotia to be laid before the Commissioners there. The matter was delayed, and nothing done. And now have wrote to the person who held those papers, desiring him to enclose them and send them to you. I understand the Door is yet open—And I beg the favour of you, to undertake the Business, in case you see there is any prospect of Success. And I will make you a due Compensation for your trouble.

The Land was 70 Acres, a house and Barn upon it, lying at Middletown, which was confiscated and Sold. It is prized at £360—Lawfull money. The Land lying at Norwalk was 40 Acres, confiscated and Sold—prized at £191:10—Another little Farm of 44 Acres with a house and Barn upon it lying at Farmington, was confiscated, and Sold: prized at £206. And I lost all I had in my house, and all the obligations I had for money and all debts—And besides these things, a house in Boston at the South End of the Town was pulled down by General Gage to make fortifications there for which house I was offered £200 Sterling by a man in Boston, but only one week before Boston was shut up—But afterwards could not get a letter in; and provided I could, it would have been too late when the house was demolished.

I believe Gov^t must be tired with hearing the doleful Storries of the suffering Americans: And I suppose those who have left the Craft, have the most to say—But I abhor all deceit; but none so much as to deceive the Gov^t in this case. I had rather have nothing at all; than to deceive them in the minute Circumstance.

My hands are better than they were, but lame—I have sent you a copy of two Letters wrote some time ago—suppose if you had rec^d them, I should have had Letters from you before now.

My best regards to Mr. Jarvis and his Lady; and believe me to be with every Sentiment and Esteem your most aff. Friend

Eusebius.

P. S. am so lame it is difficult for me write—

2^d P. S. You can repret my case to Gov^t better than anyone in the world beside. for you have known me, and can

say from your own knowledge, that would be more convincing than any thing that could be done by those who are not acquainted with me. And provided anything is obtained should be glad it might be placed in a public fund in Britian.

Dr Petters.

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
fav^d Captⁿ Woolsey
London.

Notation.
Leaming Rev^d
Nov 17, 1790
Rec^d Jany 12
Answ^d Feby 2.

New York Nov 17, 1790

Dear Sir,

It is not a formal, but a real friendship which causes me to persecute You so often with my Letters— Indeed this Letter, is founded upon self Love; a hope of obtaining what is justly due, from the naval department when they were here in the time of the late war—

The Admiral put some Coopers into a Tenement of mine, which they kept possession of, for the Space of Seven years and three months: the same Tenement and Lot, could have been Leased at the rate of £40-p An. and as soon as the peace was made was leased at the rate of £40-p An. And I now receive that Rent for it every year.

You know how to apply, and to whom; and I can't think they would refuse the payment of a debt so just—and it was a place so much wanted, that they could not do without it. You may ask why I did not apply at an earlier period. My answer is; I was told, there would be Commissioners sent, to pay off such Debts—But I do not find that to be true: I make this application—

May Heaven bless you and yours—thus prays old
Eusebius.

P. S. I applied to the Admiral that he would give me possession of it; But he replied, it would be done, only by shewing him another place where there was as large a Lot. My Lot was 100 feet depth.

Admiral Arbothnot told me I might depend upon his word, that I should be paid £40 —. an—when told him I could rent it at that rate. If the Form of acct, I have herewith given, is not proper, I wish you would form one for me that is right—

The Government of Great Britian Debtor to Jeremiah Leaming Clerk—

this	To a large Lot of Ground and Store occu-
acct ^t	pied by the Coopers for the Navy from the 20th
entered	July 1776, to November 1783. being Seven
upon	years and three months £290—New York
Book	money—Errors excepted by Jeremiah Leaming
Nov ^r	New york
20. 1783.	Nov 15. 1790.

The Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters

Grosvenor place
London

Notation
Leaming Rev
18 April 1791
rec^d 28 June 91
Item
Aug 8

New York Ap: 18, 1791.

My dear Sir,

I have not rec^d your fav^r of the 29th of Oct^r last, till within a few days. You observe I have *Otium cum signitate, even in pergamos*. I endeavor to act my part with propriety, I preach when it is proper. and when I do preach, I deliver the Truth. And the people receive it. and say, they obtain more information from one discourse of mine, than they do from all the preaching they hear besides.

Why I did not inform you of Dr Chandler's death, was owing to my inability to write at that time. And when I was able to write, I knew you must have been informed of it: for you get the knowledge of things done here before I do; first I know of many transactions here, I receive from Doc^r Peters. Doc^r Beach preached his (Dr C) funeral Serⁿ, which I did not know till you told me of it. It is not printed. And after the great character of D^r C in England, he had not so

much as a newspaper penegerick in this City. The muses Slept; and the poets were dumb. You mention Madison* as making up the canonical number: and tell me, of Mr. Pauls ordaining *Timothy* Bp of Crete, You say, you are informed of this out of an obsolete Book. I have a Book, I am persuaded is as old as yours, which acquaints me, that this Mr. Paul ordained *Titus* Bp of Crete.

I have rec^d Your Letter of Feb. 2, 91. And find you have had wrong notions about Mr Birdseyes will. I suppose it hath arisen from my not describing of it Exactly. This is the Truth Mr Birdseye give part of his Estate to his Son: that was confiscated: but not sold, five Acres excepted. And after the peace they could not sell it; and it was given back to Everet as heir of his father. And Mr Birdseye hath given just the same to your Son; and then has ordered the remainder of the Estate to be equally divided between your Son, and Everet— Mr Birdseye did not give half of his Land to his Son; it was only half of the home Lot, and five Acres down in the field. He has given the other half of the home Lot to your Son, before he orders a division of the Estate between them.

I am your friend, and ever shall be in the best sense of the word, and I hope to conduct in such a manner as to retain Your friendship to the last moment of Life. I wish I could spend some time in your Conversation which would give me the greatest pleasure. But that cannot be. However I endeavor to make the most of such Conversation as I have. But really the most part of it, is very insipid to old age. It is natural to love old friends, that are friends indeed: and old wine that is genuine. But you are not to suppose, I am become immoderate in the use of that blessing of Heaven, which was designed to cheer the Spirits of old age.

Letters came by the Jame Ship in which yours came to me, from a Gentleman who went from this City to obtain a compensation for his confiscated Estate: and he writes he is like to obtain it. I suppose it is no strange thing, that the

*Madison was consecrated Bishop of Virginia in London, September 19, 1790, thereby consummating the English succession of American bishops as distinguished from the Scottish through Seabury.

door should be shut against a Clergyman who suffered more than any, and yet compensation to be given to others.

Altho it is impossible for us to meet here, yet I hope we may meet in Heaven and spend a happy Eternity together:— Is it possible, that such friendship as hath subsisted between you and me, should come to an End, when you and myself shall quit these Tenements of Clay?

I am with every Sentiment of Regard, Esteem and Gratitude your most affectionate friend—

J. Leaming.

P. S. Do not fail to make Mrs Leamings and my compliments to Mr Jarvis and his Lady.

Rev^d Doctor Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
Nov 21. 1791
rec Jany 3. 92
Ans Feby 2.

New York Nov 21. 1791.

My very dear Sir,

I have now two Letters before me from you, one very long of the 28th June; which I am not able to answer. The other of the 8th Aug^t to which I shall pay particular Attention. In this you say, You expect to see America before X^{mas}, tho all pendent on the ministry and you expect to die in the west, near Noakafound. while I live, as you say, in my beloved City. In this you are mistaken. Middletown is my beloved City, above all other places in the world— I designed that for the place of my residence in the Close of Life. and made provision with that View, in a paternal Estate which fell to me there. But Gov^t, or rather old Devenport who is now gone to some other Region, thot fit to take it from me: so that all the Estate I now have is in this City, for that reason have pitched my Tent in this City. Could I have had my own choice Middletown would have been the place, as I have always been treated by that people with more respect and friendship than those of any other place. And next to that, should have preferred New Haven, for the same reason.

As to your Latin, have not any fault to find in it. And meaning in English is pleasing to me. I do not know who Sir John Benedutus, Joseph Esq^r are: so cannot determine whether they are better Criticks than Ch Teni^m -Duche or Combs.

As to Dr Stearns, he should not have pitched upon New England nor N York for obtaining honor to himself, for these are places in which he exhibited in former times, a Conduct, which will rinder him most contemptible. I am very sorry to find you are out of health, hope God will soon restore it. Thus prays your most sincere friend

Jeremiah Leaming.

Addressed to

The Rev^d Dr Samuel Peters
London.

Notation.

Leaming Rev^d Dr

June 5, 1792

rec^d Aug. 25

Ans^d Aug 25.

New York June 5, 1792.

This very day, my dear friend, your Fav^r of Feb 1, 92, But am sorry to find that you are meditating a scheme to take away my Son, from these happy Regions where we enjoy the happyness to Tax ourselves as much, or as little as we please, & as to the great things you say of Simcopolis; if I am not much mistaken, The Jerseys will far exceed it; for they have determined to nominate me for the Bp of that State: and provided they do, and will comply with my requisitions, I will form them into a true primitive Chh—Then let Simcopolis and the Jerseys vie with each other, to see which will excel. You must not mistake me, and suppose that my vanity hath increased with my age: and that I can do as much in advanced Life, as you who are so much younger and in the meridian of Life. No! But the materials being so much better, and earlier formed to the Truth, than those, who are under your care, will cause the affairs in the Jerseys to preponderate. This I suppose you will say, is one of my paradoxes, Or rather it is the fumes arising from the dregs of Life.

I am grieved that you are so ready to believe an ill report of the good people of this Land. You may depend upon it the report you have heard is false. Come here and you will be convinced that what you have heard is not the Character which the Americans have ever deserved. I never heard that any one among the Americans has been guilty of that Crime.

I think you ought not to change measures for such Idle Reports; and neglect to come here, as you engaged, to see your old friend; who will feel happy to *see* you; notwithstanding you hold the Bps here in such contempt, and Stile them *overlookers*. Yet I will not overlook you, provided you will take the route to Monneal thro this City.—and I should think, if nothing else was to determine this affair, but only convenience to yourself; you would take the nearest way to Monneal: and not run round Robenhoods barn 3000 miles farther to escape poison, where there is none, You have friends here; and you will have Enemies, go where you will: even at New Jerusalem.

You accuse the Americans for not paying their Debts. be it so: for which I condemn them. And I blame the Britians for being guilty of a more hienous Crime: that of violating the wills of the dead. In the year 1710 the Bp of Can^y, gave £1,000 for the Support of Bps in America: the Lady Bety Hastings in the year 1735 gave £1500 for the same purpose; and several thousands besides given by pious persons; all these Donations were given for the support of a Bp, or Bps, in what is now called the United States. Yet this is taken contrary to the will of the Donors, and given to the support of a Bp in a part which belonged to France* at the time when the Donation was made. Who has had a right to alter the wills of these persons since they were dead? If there were conditions in these wills, that in case we remained under the Gov^t of G. Britian, we should receive the Legacy: and provided we Did not, we should forfeit it: then there would be plausible pretence to withhold it. But there is no such condition in these Dona^{ns}: and hence it is plain, that some Bp in these States, has a better right to the money thus given, than any man who has trusted the Americans, to Demand it of them.

*Nova Scotia.

Is this Sacralege? I leave you to judge as you know who receives it. I love you, as much as you do me.

Adieu.

J. Leaming.

Dr Petters.

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters
N 22 York Street,
London

Per the Brig
Alexander
Via Liverpool.

Notation
Leaming Rev D^r
6 July 1794
recd Sept 20. -94
ans Sep^t 29.

New York July 6. 1794—

My ever dear sir,

Your much esteemed favour of the 15th of April, I rec^d three days ago. As to the papers you sent me, they have not come to hand. What can be the cause, I cannot say. But I imagine, some person, who hates the Britains, has put them aside—I wish you could inform me, the time when, and the person by whom they were sent.

The Marquis of Lansdown may make what fun he pleases, in Saying, *his majesty Genl Washington*; as long as we are happy, we shall not fear, nor feel his Sarcasms. But we have some internal troubles from those who have come here to find happiness, but will never be so, here or any where Else. The truth is, there is no sort of Government will please such kind of people.

You ask why I am not consecrated a Bp? I answer, because, I did not desire it. The Clergy in the Jersies, saw their Chhs going to Ruins, without a Bp; and upon first thought, supposed I was the only person who could prevent it: but upon more mature deliberation found out, that there was not a Clerygman in that State who was not well qualified for that Office. And yet there was not one, to whom any one of them, would give his vote: except for himself, which they all did, one excepted. I did not wish to be a Bp. You ask if I did not wish for “Bps’ Bench in Heaven”? I answer; If I may be so happy as to obtain the lowest Seat in Heaven; it

will be more than I deserve: and can only hope to obtain it, thro the Propitiation and Intercession of my Blessed Redeemer.

You seem to insinuate, that you shall come here, and be Bp of Vermont. I do not know what your Prospects are, but to me, it appears, but little good can be done, and the greater fatigue undergone.

The changing Scenes of this world are such at present, that there is little to be hoped for, and less to be realized. You ask if you shall find faith in America. I hope you may. however it is something Scarce here: for faith is turned out of doors. And most of the preachers have Substituted Conversion, in the room of Faith: In the Chapter of Conversion is found the whole of what belongs to Religion.

Am much pleased with your Son. I think he will do well in the world. his mind and manners are much improved and his affability will always gain him friends. As the world is at present, I cant Say but he has done well, not to take the character of a Clergyman, preaching is so much prostituted, that it is a question, whether there is not more mischief done by it, than good. What is built by one that is right, is pulled Down by two who are wrong.

It is difficult for me to write, as my abilities of mind and Body fail very fast—the old age does not love to confess it. This seems strange, for why should we be so unwilling to own what every one else knows to be a fact—there is no need to tell you, how much regard for you, rests in the breast of old

Eusebius.

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters

Grosvenor Place Pimlico Notation

London

Leaming Rev^d

Nov 15. 1792

recd June 3. 1793

Answ^d July 30

New York Nov^r 15. 1792.

Rev^d and dear sir,

Have rec^d your most obliging Letter dated the 26th of last Aug^t, five days ago. And am now set down to acquaint you,

that I feel the sincere friendship for you that I ever have had. There are so many things in your Letter, that it is impossible for me to attend to them all: and say what, I must not Omitt on other affairs—

In the year 1711. the Society* gave orders to his Excellency Robert Hunter Esq^r then Gov^r of New York and New Jersey, to purchase a place in the Jerseys for a Bishops Seat; and he did according to the Societies request, agree with John Tatham for a house and Land, for that purpose, for which he paid £600 Sterling. For which Sum John Tatham made a Deed in fee Simple to the Society forever, dated Feb. 26. 1711. which place was purchased by the Society for a Bishops residence.

I wish you would be so kind as to examine the Societys Books for the years 1711, 1712, and 1713, in which years I suppose you will find the Deed recorded. And in case I should be invited with the Charge of that Church, I should, wish to know, how that Business was transacted by the Society at that time; for their measures were changed concerning a Bp for America, after George the first came to the Throne. If it can be done, pray find me, a Copy of that Deed: or rather bring it yourself, for altho you say nothing of coming, yet I must think you will be graced with a Mitre. And whether you are, or not—I shall love you as a good, honest man. As one that has a Soul like a Prince: Even without any of the Appendiges.

May all the Troubles we have both suffered make us prize the world of Hallaluals so much the more; for tis but a little time, before we must leave every thing here below. May we be prepared for that Hour. Thus prays your Affectionate friend and Brother

Jeremiah Leaming.

*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

(To be continued.)

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS OF CAROLINA, AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

By Joseph Blount Cheshire, Bishop of North Carolina.

The fundamental Constitutions of Carolina may probably be considered as the "last word", up to the present time, in the efforts of able and learned men to lay out by theory a scheme of practical social and political organization, upon which to build up the life of a new nation in a new country. The work of the Philosopher John Locke, acting under the immediate direction, and doubtless with the assistance, of the able and versatile Shaftesbury, they proved to be so utterly impracticable, and inapplicable to the country and people for whom they were specially designed, that their enforcement was never seriously attempted in Albemarle, as the northern settlements of Carolina were called; and even in the southern settlement upon the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, around the new city of Charleston, where some of their provisions were for a time enforced in part, they were set aside and formally abrogated by the authors themselves, before the year 1700, which had been set as the date when this elaborate scheme should be put into full and complete operation.

Yet this instrument, so futile in its general plan and its chief features, contained germs of political justice and wisdom, which perhaps found some lodgment in the life and thought of the people, and which survived and attained a better development in their subsequent history. This is specially true of its fine declaration of the principles of religious liberty which is noble and just, and such as must have impressed the best minds and hearts in the infant communities, and helped in the end to accomplish its intended purpose.

The Fundamental Constitutions, however, grew out of the provisions of the Charters of Charles II, and we must at least glance at those Charters, since they lie at the beginnings of the Civil and Religious institutions of the Province of Carolina.

The name Virginia, applied at first to all the coast of North America explored by the enterprise of the Elizabethan seamen, had by the second quarter of the seventeenth century begun to be restricted to so much of the territory as was under the general authority and occupation of the Colony whose headquarters were at Jamestown. To the South a large and unoccupied region separated the English from the Spanish settlements in Florida. Two attempts of French Huguenots, to make settlements at Port Royal and at St. John's River, had been defeated, and the Colonists barbarously murdered by the Spanish, leaving nothing behind but one or two local names. Their fort, *Arx Carolina*, Fort Charles, so called after Charles VII of France, is thought by some to have given the name Carolina to this part of the coast of America. But when in 1629 Charles I, of England, granted to Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney General, this unoccupied region, and called it the "Province of Carolina", it was probably his own name which determined the designation.

The Charters of 1663 and 1665.

Nothing was done under this grant of Charles I towards the exploration or settlement of the country, and when settlers from Virginia began to occupy, under Indian titles, the rich lands lying south of that government, Charles II made no difficulty about granting this region anew to eight Lords Proprietors, as he designated them, by two Charters, the first in the year 1663, the second in 1665. Under this grant of Charles II the first government of Carolina was organized on the north side of that great fresh-water Sound, which came to be known as Albemarle Sound, as the settlement was known by the general name of Albemarle.

The Charter of 1665 simply enlarged the boundaries of the Province, making its northern line conterminous with the Southern boundary of Virginia, and extending the Southern boundary of Carolina to make it coincide with the twenty-ninth degree of north latitude. Both Charters give as the

Western limit of the grant the shores of the "South Sea", i. e., the Pacific Ocean.

The provisions of these two Charters are substantially and almost literally the same. In both it is provided that the religious institutions of the country shall be in accordance with "the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England", but in both it is also provided that the Lords Proprietors may, to such persons as "cannot in their private opinions conform to the public exercise of religion, according to the Liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the Church of England, or take and subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf", "give and grant * * * such indulgences and dispensations in that behalf, for and during such time and times, with such limitations and restrictions, as they, the said (Lords Proprietors), shall in their discretion think fit and reasonable". This indulgence is to be granted upon condition that the persons so indulged "shall declare and continue all fidelity, loyalty and obedience" to the royal authority and the laws of the land, and shall in no "wise disturb the peace and safety thereof, or scandalize or reproach the said liturgy, forms, and ceremonies", etc., thus the Charter of 1663. The Charter of 1665 omits the specific condition, not to "scandalize or reproach the said liturgy", etc., and substitutes more general words: "and that no person or persons, to whom such may be given, shall be in any way molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion or practice in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the Province, * * * but all * * * may freely and quietly have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion, * * * they behaving themselves peaceably, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury, or outward disturbance of any others".

Two observations are to be made upon these provisions of the Charters: First, that they both contemplate a religious establishment, supported by public authority, and this establishment to be in accordance with the ecclesiastical institutions of the Mother Country. Second, that the question of religious

liberty, to what extent and for what period granted, and under what conditions and restrictions to be exercised, is left entirely within the discretion of the Lords Proprietors. They are *allowed* to grant it; they are not *required* to do so. But once granted, and settlers being attracted to the Province by this, as one of the inducements held out to them, it would become, in the nature of the case, a vested right, not to be withdrawn, or unreasonably restricted, without great and manifest injustice. At the same time the terms of the Charters make it abundantly plain, that the liberty of conscience and of worship proposed was not meant to exempt those thus favored from subjection to the laws of the country, nor from support of its public institutions civil and ecclesiastical.

The Lords Proprietors were not slow to act upon these provisions of their Charter. By a policy of religious toleration they hoped to attract settlers to their vast domain. In their "Declaration and Proposals to all that will plant in Carolina", put out August 25th, 1663, and circulated in England and in the colonies, especially in New England and Barbadoes; in their Instructions to Governor Stevens, of Albemarle, in 1670; and in other contemporary documents and records of the Lords Proprietors, we find them granting, "in as ample manner as the undertakers shall desire, freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious and spiritual things, to be kept inviolably with them". They even went a step further than the Charters seem to have contemplated. All rights of advowson and patronage of Ecclesiastical livings had by the Charters been expressly reserved to the Lords Proprietors; but in their "Articles of Agreement" with Maj. Wm. Yeamans and Sir John Yeamans in 1665, and in their "Instructions for our Governor of Albemarle", in 1667, they insert the following: "Item, And that no pretence may be taken by us, our heirs or assigns, for or by reason of our right of patronage and power of advowson, granted unto us by His Majesty's Letters Pattents aforesaid, to infringe thereby the general clause of Liberty of conscience aforementioned, We do hereby grant unto the General Assembly of said county, power by Act to appoint such and so many

ministers or preachers as they shall think fit, and to establish their maintenance, giving liberty besides to any person or persons to keep and maintain what preachers or ministers they please."

No effort, however, was made to accept this offer. The settlements along the streams running into the north side of Albemarle Sound were scattered, the settlers few and poor, and all their energies engrossed in the difficult work of clearing the land and getting it under cultivation. It was many years yet before so much as a village or *hamlet* gave a centre of population or influence, and social and political institutions had hardly begun to crystalize into even the simple forms of frontier life.

It was in this rudimentary state of their Province of Carolina that the Lords Proprietors devised and promulgated their *Grand Model*, as they called the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina.

Only one act of the General Assembly of Albemarle has, I believe, come down to us in its entirety from the period anterior to the publication of the Fundamental Constitutions. That act has an interesting bearing upon the religion of the first settlers. Referring to it, Mr. Bancroft says that "Marriage was made a civil contract", implying some intentional lessening of the religious sanctions of Marriage. No trace of any such thought or sentiment can be found in the terms of the Act. On the contrary, it speaks again and again of "the holy state of wedlock", and a distinct intimation of regret is to be perceived in the explanation given for the necessity of allowing marriages to be contracted without the accustomed blessing of the Church of their Mother Country. The date of this Act of the Assembly of Albemarle is not known but it was ratified by the Lords Proprietors January 20th, 1669 (i. e. 1670 new style). It is in these words:

An Act Concerning Marriages.

"Forasmuch as there may be divers people that are minded to be joined together in the holy state of wedlock, and for that

there is no minister as yet in this country by whom the said parties may be joined in wedlock according to the rites and customs of our native country the Kingdom of England; that none may be hindered from so necessary a work for the preservation of mankind and settlement of this country, it is enacted, and be it enacted, by the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of Carolina, by and with the consent of the present Assembly and authority thereof, that any two persons desiring to be joined together in the holy estate of matrimony, taking three or four of their neighbors along with them, and repairing unto the Governor or any one of the Council, before him declaring that they do join together in the holy estate of wedlock, and do accept the one the other for man and wife, and the said Governor or Councillor, before whom such act is performed, giving certificate thereof, and the said certificate being registered in the Secretary's office, or by the Register of the precinct, or in such other office as shall hereafter for that use be provided, it shall be deemed a lawful marriage, and parties violating this marriage shall be punished as if they had been married by a minister according to the rites and customs of England."

The First Settlers in Albemarle.

The first settlement of North Carolina was by the natural overflow from Virginia, as the best lands in the older Colony were taken up, and the more adventurous spirits pushed forward into the unoccupied regions beyond. What was the religion, or what were the religious associations and antecedents, of these first settlers?

Until the publication of the first volume of the North Carolina Colonial Records in the year 1886, all our historians, local and general, who had written of these early settlements, had concurred in the statement that the northern shore of Albemarle Sound was first settled by Quakers, Baptists, and other religious refugees, fleeing from the intolerance of the Church in Virginia (and to a less extent in Maryland), and of the Calvinistic establishments in New England. So long, so con-

fidently, and with such unanimity had this story been repeated from one to another, that it did not seem to occur to any one that original authorities and sources of information should be examined, and their testimony given some consideration. Our own Dr. Hawks, himself a North Carolinian, and a lawyer of eminence before he took Holy Orders, accepted the current account with implicit confidence; and misread and misinterpreted the original authorities which he examined, and forced them, contrary to their plain meaning, into agreement with the common view. I believe I can justly claim to have been the first who called attention, in a modest, but I think not an ineffective, way to the inaccuracy of this generally received account; and any intelligent student, who will look at the evidence with unprejudiced eyes, will see that there is absolutely no contemporary, or other reliable, testimony to support it.

If I may be pardoned a personal reminiscence, I will dwell for a moment on this point. The ten great volumes of "North Carolina Colonial Records" were published during the years 1886-1890, under the editorial supervision, and chiefly through the unwearied labors, of the late Col. William L. Saunders, for many years Secretary of State in North Carolina, a dear friend and family connection of my own. Knowing that I had made some investigations into the early history of the State, especially in ecclesiastical matters, Col. Saunders desired me to assist him in his important enterprise, by obtaining copies of every document I could discover relating to the history of the Church in North Carolina during the Colonial period. During the session of the General Convention of 1883 in Philadelphia I came to this city, by appointment with Bishop Perry, of Iowa, to endeavor to secure copies of many important documents in his custody as Historiographer of the General Convention. Col. Saunders asked me to see if the records of the old Pennsylvania Quakers could throw any light upon the emigration of the persecuted Quakers from New England and Virginia in the first settlements of the Albemarle section.

Being in the Library of the Historical Society of Penn-

sylvania, I procured a copy of Bowden's "History of the Friends" in order to see what their general histories had to say of their early North Carolina brethren. Our local histories mention William Edmundson as the first of the Quaker travelling preachers who visited them in their new home, to help them in organizing and extending their work. The settlements had begun in 1662; the first Governor had been appointed in 1663. It was not until 1672 that William Edmundson came to visit and to comfort his brethren, and by this time there were a good many inhabitants of the new Province of Carolina. Bowden's account of Edmundson's visit is taken from Edmundson's Journal, which our historian Martin had apparently seen, but which he does not quote. What was my surprise to read in Edmundson's own words that on the occasion of this visit to the Albemarle section he found only *one family of Friends*, and they wept at the sight of him *not having seen the face of a Friend for seven years*—that is, not since they had left New England in 1665.

The surprise of the good Quaker, Henry Phillips, and his family, when on the Sunday morning in the spring of 1672, William Edmundson appeared among them, could hardly have been more complete than that which I experienced, when, in that one sentence, and in its unavoidable implications, I saw the whole story of the first settlement of that region, repeated for a century from one historian to another and never once called in question, absolutely discredited and disproved. I read it again and again. I turned to other parts of the narrative. There it stood, plain, positive, unmistakable. William Edmundson had made a long and painful journey through swamps and forests, to see his Carolina brethren. He found hearers at his several services, and made some converts among the inhabitants, but he found only one family of Friends; and they had removed from New England to Carolina in 1665, and had not seen the face of a Friend (i. e. a Quaker) in all their seven years' residence in Albemarle!

I had no time during my brief stay in Philadelphia to pursue the investigation, but upon my return home I took it

up. I examined every General and every Local History which contained the statement that our first settlers were Quakers, Baptists, and others fleeing from religious persecution or intolerance. I made *memoranda* of all authorities quoted as supporting or illustrating this statement. I procured all these authorities. Especially I read carefully the Journal of William Edmundson, and also the Journal of George Fox, who followed Edmundson about six months later, and who gives a detailed account of his experiences. I examined every reference having any bearing on the question. All accounts agreed; all the evidence looked one way. I cannot here give the details, I can only say that I found not one single fact or statement by any contemporary authority, or, so far as I can recall, by any authority anterior to the Revolution of 1776, to sustain the theory that the early settlers of the Albemarle section were religious refugees, or that religious intolerance, in Virginia or elsewhere, played any appreciable part in the settlement, or that any considerable number of the first settlers were Quakers, Baptists, or Dissenters of any kind, when they first came into the Province. Quakerism was introduced by Edmundson and Fox, and its simple methods of organization and worship, being suited to the scattered settlements and their unorganized social condition, and having no rival worship, it soon drew to itself many of the best elements of the population in Perquimans and Pasquotank, two of the precincts of Albemarle County; and the frequent visits of itinerant Quaker preachers strengthened and extended their influence. But the people had originally come into the country simply as pioneers of civilization, seeking new homes where land was unoccupied and cheap. There seem to have been no Dissenters in the Albemarle Colony, except Quakers, until well on into the eighteenth century. And the Quakers were almost wholly confined to the two precincts above mentioned. The population of the other precincts seem to have retained a degree of traditional attachment to the Church of England. And there was never a time in our Colonial history when the Church did not command

the support of a majority of the people of the Province, when any measure in its favor was brought before them.

The results of my investigation I embodied in a series of three communications to our local Church paper, which, reprinted in a small pamphlet, I sent to my friend, Col. Saunders, then preparing for the press the first volume of the North Carolina Colonial Records, with his extended prefatory essay upon the beginnings of our Colonial history. I was anxious that he should have his attention called to the point which I felt needed to be corrected. His reply to my request for his judgment upon my contention as to the religious character of our first settlers, was expressed in these words: "*In my judgment you have not only proved your point, you have demonstrated it.*" And in his Introduction to the first volume of Records, above mentioned, he took the same position.

It was then at this period, and in this condition of society, inchoate and practically unorganized, that the Lords Proprietors and the Philosopher Locke put their hands to the task of providing their Grand Model of Government.

The Fundamental Constitutions.

Attempts to construct human Society in accordance with prearranged plans have always failed. The wisest legislation is that which sanctions and formulates methods which have been found practicable in the life and experience of the people. Civil institutions are a growth. They are the forms in which the living forces of society have found expression. Healthy and enduring constitutions only embody the results of preceding experience. When men have attempted to anticipate history, and to evolve from their own minds constitutions for governments yet to be, the statesman and the philosopher have usually distinguished themselves above the fool and the fanatic only by having achieved the more signal and disastrous failure.

A notable example of this is to be seen in The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. These Constitutions, adopted first in 1669, and variously altered and modified from time to

time, until they were finally abandoned altogether in 1693, were drawn up by John Locke, then Secretary to the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the Lords Proprietors. John Locke became in maturer years one of the most distinguished philosophers of the age. In 1669, however, he was quite a young man, and it is difficult to believe that Shaftesbury, not to mention other eminent statesmen among the Lords Proprietors, could have left wholly to his inexperience the drawing up of Constitutions for their great Province. It is, however, impossible to determine how far their influence or authority was exerted in the matter, and this very remarkable and elaborate scheme of organization and government has always been ascribed to Locke. In its perfected form it certainly came from his hand and its provisions concerning freedom of conscience and of worship are in entire accordance with the spirit of his later works on the subject of Toleration. The paragraph on the Establishment of the Church of England in the Province is said to have been inserted by the authority of Shaftesbury and the Lords Proprietors, and to have been contrary to Lockes wishes. In some copies this section is *bracketed*, as indicating some distinction between this and the rest of the document. But it must be admitted that both the Charters required that the ecclesiastical institutions of the Province should be in accordance with the ecclesiastical laws of England, and in this matter, therefore the Proprietors had no choice or discretion allowed them.

Of the one hundred and twenty Articles of The Fundamental Constitutions sixteen relate to religion, namely, the ninety-fifth, and those following to the one hundred and tenth, inclusive. The ninety-fifth Article requires as a condition of Citizenship the belief in God, and that God is to be publicly and solemnly worshipped.

The ninety-sixth Article requires the establishment of the Church of England, as "the only true and orthodox religion of all the King's dominions" and "so also of Carolina, and therefore alone * * * allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of Parliament".

The ninety-seventh Article deserves to be given in full: "But since the natives of that place who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorances, or mistake, gives us no right to expell or use them ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant there will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out: that Civil peace may be obtained amidst diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed, the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and a great scandal to the true religion which we profess; and also that Jews, Heathen, and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, may not be scared and kept at a distance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all the convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and design of the Gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore any seven or more persons, agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a Church or profession, to which they shall give some name to distinguish it from others."

The ninety-eighth Article requires that the terms of admittance, etc., of each such Church, subscribed by all its members, shall be kept by the Register of the precinct.

The ninety-ninth Article relates to certain details of the ninety-eighth.

The one hundredth Article prescribes three essential principles, which must form part of the terms of membership of every Church or profession, without which it may not be recognized:

1. That there is a God.
2. That God is to be publicly worshipped.

3. That it is lawful for every man to bear witness, when called upon by public authority, and to attest the truth of his statements by some reasonable form of asseveration.

Articles one hundred and one to one hundred and five relate to various details, as to the admission of members, and the like.

Article one hundred and six is as follows: "No man shall use any reproachful, reviling, or abusive language against any Church or profession that being the certain way of disturbing the peace, and of hindering the conversion of any to the truth, by engaging them in quarrels and animosities, to the hatred of the professors and that profession which otherwise they might be brought to assent to."

The one hundred and seventh Article secures to slaves the right of membership in such Church or profession as they may choose, "and thereof (to) be as fully members as any freeman".

The one hundred and eighth declares that any Assemblies upon pretence of religion, not observing these rules, etc., "shall not be esteemed as Churches, but unlawful meetings, and be punished as other riots".

Article one hundred and nine is: "No persons whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion or his way of worship."

The one hundred and tenth article declares that: "Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever."

These are the only Articles relating to religion. The eighty-seventh Article had declared that no marriage should be considered lawful, whatever contract or ceremony might have been used, until both parties had mutually owned it before the local Register, and it had been by him recorded, with the names of the parties and of their parents.

It may be mentioned, as having some bearing on the subject of religion, that in the "Rules of Precedency" accompanying the Fundamental Constitutions, no place is assigned to any ecclesiastical person or order.

These provisions concerning religion and freedom of conscience embody the same principles which Locke maintained in all his writings. He consistently denied political privileges, and even a civil *status*, to Atheists, though he thought that the most ignorant savage should be treated with tenderness and consideration, in order that he might be won to the truth. He had little patience with those who would disturb the peace and unity of the Church upon differences in speculative opinions; and while, in common with almost all men of that age, he looked upon an established Church as necessary in a Christian Country, yet he would have had the Church include a very wide diversity of opinion, requiring uniformity only in the fundamental facts and doctrines, upon which there is so wide and general agreement among most Christians. Nothing could be further from his principles than intolerance of any kind. The son of a Parliamentary Soldier, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, in the time of the Commonwealth, under John Owen, the famous Calvinistic divine, he had been repelled from Calvinism by its narrow dogmatic spirit, and had *gravitated* to the Church, so to speak, attracted by its greater intellectual freedom, and probably influenced also by the preaching of Whichcote, and his intimacy with the family of Cudworth, two eminent "Broad-Churchmen" of that day. It is said that at one time he contemplated taking Orders in the Church, but was probably deterred by feeling that he might thereby be hampered in the freedom of philosophical speculation and research. Except as to atheists, whom he considered as destroying the foundations of all order, and Romanists, whom he considered in the existing political situation as being subject to a foreign allegiance, he was throughout his course the most forward champion of comprehension and toleration in Church and State. The Fundamental Constitutions have sometimes been spoken of as restricting the religious liberty granted by the Lords Proprietors under the Charters,—a very manifest error. Their provisions concerning religion may be thought arbitrary and impracticable. This, however, proceeded from no disposition to restrain freedom of belief or of wor-

ship which are most carefully secured and safe-guarded, but from a desire to reduce society to an exact order and system impossible of attainment under the actual conditions of intellectual and religious freedom, and inconsistent in fact with any healthy social life and development.

The terms imposed upon Dissenters from the Established Church would probably have been found productive of many inconveniences, even had it been possible to enforce them; but it cannot justly be said that they restricted liberty of conscience, except in their intolerance of Atheists. The three requirements of the one hundredth Article are such as all Christians, and indeed all heathen religions, have held to be true and necessary. Their purpose was plainly to prevent atheists from taking advantage of the ninety-seventh Article, by organizing themselves as a "Church or Profession", and so gaining a legal *status*, and claiming those political privileges from which it was intended to exclude them. The one hundred and fourth Article might at first sight be deemed an interference with the right of each religious society to decide upon the qualifications of its own members, or to maintain any effective spiritual discipline. It was probably not so intended, nor would such necessarily be its effect. The one hundred and first Article required every person to be a member of some "Church or Profession" as a condition of enjoying the privileges of Citizenship; therefore Article one hundred and four prescribes how any person may become a member of some "Church or profession" as a condition of his citizenship. It would, however, satisfy both the spirit and the letter of the law, that the subscription allowed in Article one hundred and four should make the subscriber a member for the purposes of the law as to citizenship and its privileges, while his spiritual privileges and standing might remain subject to the proper rules and internal regulations of the society with which he had thus identified himself. And in any case that society had a summary remedy in the provisions of Article one hundred and five, which allows any society by its free act to rid itself of an undesirable member.

Article one hundred and seven, though breathing a benevolent spirit, may to us seem superfluous, in securing to slaves the right to become members of such "Church or profession" as they might prefer. To the discredit of our ancestors we have to acknowledge that this merciful provision was not wholly unnecessary. The missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, when many years later they began their labors in the Colonies, found that one of the hindrances to be reckoned with, in their work among the negro slaves of America, was a fear on the part of their owners that if they should allow their slaves to be baptized, they would thereby become entitled to their freedom. To meet this difficulty the Assembly of Virginia found it necessary to pass a law similar to this provision of the Fundamental Constitutions.

Blackstone (I, 425) alludes to "the infamous and unchristian practice of withholding baptism from negro servants, lest they should thereby gain their liberty", and says that such a practice is "totally without foundation and without excuse". But Chitty, in a note on this place, says that the English Court of Common Pleas, as late as 5 William and Mary, held that a man might have property in a negro boy and maintain an action of *Trover* for him, "*because negroes are heathens*".

The spirit of Christianity has always been hostile to the practice of slavery; and the mediaeval ecclesiastics employed many devices to encourage the manumission of slaves. The theory that Baptism freed the slave was probably one of their pious inventions; and certainly the sentiment underlying this theory does appeal very strongly to a Christian heart. And in the case of the Colonial slave-owners, their knowledge that English lawyers had justified negro slavery upon the ground that negroes were heathens, might not unnaturally or illogically create such a belief. If he could be held as a slave *because he was a heathen*, then ceasing to be a heathen, he might naturally be supposed to cease to be a slave: "*Cessante ratione cessat etiam lex.*" Though this fear of losing their slaves, if they should allow them to be baptized, did show itself among

the earlier settlers of America, it played no important part even in those times, and soon disappeared.

However impracticable the provisions of the Fundamental Constitutions in regard to religion may seem to us, they are yet very far in advance of the spirit of the seventeenth century in general benevolence and in solicitude for freedom of conscience and of worship, even for the ignorant savages of America, as well as for Jews, and other dissenters from the truth of Christianity. We have hardly realized in feeling and practice, even in this twentieth century, the wise words spoken by the Lords Proprietors to their colonists, though not illustrated in the lives and policies of the noble propounders. We need still to be reminded that we can only teach effectually to others the truths we have learned ourselves, "by peaceableness and inoffensiveness, by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and design of the Gospel".

It is a fact of greater significance, I think, than may at first appear, that in the "Rules of Precedency" accompanying the Fundamental Constitutions, no place of precedence or of dignity is assigned to any ecclesiastical office or person. Provision is made for the support of the Church, but the public honor and recognition awarded to the Clergy are left to the voluntary action of the people. This may not unreasonably be understood as intended to emphasize the spiritual character of their office and work. It seems to me one of the wisest and most sagacious features of the whole design, and one calculated to have been of most important service to the Church. There can, I think, be no question, that the very strongest ground of objection made in the American Colonies to the introduction of Bishops from England, was a dislike of the *secular* jurisdiction, prerogatives, and dignities, which had unfortunately gathered around the Bishops in England, to the obscuration of their spiritual character and to the very great hindrance of their real Episcopal function. From this point of view it was not wholly a misfortune that Bishops were not established in the Colonies before the Revolution of 1776.

This single feature, in the effort to introduce the Fundamental Constitutions, and thereby establish the Church in Carolina—that there was to be no place of secular state or precedence assigned to the Clergy of the Church, seems to me a point to be noted, as one of the few evidences of real wisdom in the details of these wonderful schemes. It was an anticipation of the true spirit of Christianity as developed in this new world, where its work has been done without those adventitious aids of state connections and political patronage, which in the other countries of Europe had come to make so great a show in the external life and work of the Church.

This "Grand Model" obtained a partial and limited acceptance in the Southern part of the Province, where the more populous and prosperous settlements about Charleston afforded more opportunity of experimenting. It was never enforced in Albemarle. In the instructions of the Proprietors these Constitutions are referred to from time to time as a model to which the infant community must be gradually assimilated, and to which the people must be taught to adjust themselves; but no effort was made to compel any such adjustments. As time went on it became increasingly evident that it would not be possible to run the seemingly plastic life of the new nation into that mould. That life was slowly but surely shaping out forms for the expression of its own ideals and aspirations. It was never possible to find any point of contact between the crude institutions of the frontier colony and the elaborate scheme of the young philosopher and his noble patrons. Gradually it came to be seen by all that there could be no point of contact between the two. The law was in fact a dead letter. The Fundamental Constitutions were repealed before the end of the century. Chalmers quotes from the proceedings of the Lords Proprietors under date of April, 1693, "That as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the Charters, without regard to the Fundamental Constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request".

BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN GEORGIA.

By Edgar Legare Pennington.

By the 3rd of October, 1732, 114 individuals (men, women and children) had been enrolled for the first embarkation to Georgia.¹ Care had been exerted that only fit persons should be selected for colonization; preference was given to those well recommended by ministers, church-wardens, and overseers of the parishes. A committee was appointed to visit the prisons and examine the applicants confined there, so as to ascertain their merits; and compromises were effected with their creditors and consent procured for their discharge. The benevolent character of the venture appealed to the religious folk; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops, the archdeacons, the deans, the chapters, the collegiate and parochial clergy, all gave liberally to the enterprise.

The first ship carried 115 Bibles and Testaments, 116 Prayer Books, 72 Psalters, 312 Catechisms, 56 copies of Bishop Gibson's *Family Devotions*, and 437 other religious volumes. During the first two years, over twenty-six hundred Bibles, Testaments, and religious books, and about £1,000 in contributions for building a Church and supporting a missionary gave evidence of the interest felt in the spiritual welfare of the colonists.² The Trustees were themselves solicitous for the religious well-being. When they met, December 28th, it was expressly desired that General Oglethorpe "would as soon as conveniently he could lay out the site of a minister's house, and prepare materials for building the same with a Church"; and lay out a glebe of three hundred acres for the minister's support.

The "Anne", a galley of two hundred tons, was chartered to convey the colonists to Georgia. The vessel set sail November 17th, 1732. There were 130 on board; and thirty

¹Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 367.

²Stevens: *History of Georgia*, I, 320.

families were represented.³ Among the passengers was the Reverend Henry Herbert, who had volunteered to perform all religious services. Mr. Herbert was the son of the late Lord Herbert of Cherbury.⁴

The ship arrived at Charles Town, South Carolina, the 13th of January. After Oglethorpe had paid his respects to Governor Robert Johnson, the ship sailed for Port Royal harbor. There the colonists were conveyed in a small craft to Beaufort, where they landed and refreshed themselves after their tedious voyage. The General proceeded to the Savannah River, to choose a site for the new settlement. He returned to his group on the 24th of January.

The following Sunday was celebrated as a day of thanksgiving for the safe arrival. The Reverend Lewis Jones, rector of St. Helena's Parish (Beaufort), preached to the colonists.⁵

Near the site chosen for the town was an Indian village, peopled by the Yamacraws, whose Mico was Tomo-chi-chi. Through the intervention of Mary Musgrove, a half-breed and the wife of a Carolina trader, the natives were persuaded of the friendly intentions of the English. Consequently, the land was obtained. On the 30th of January, the colonists were conveyed to Yamacraw Bluff, which they reached in safety the second day afterwards, when they passed their first night on Georgia soil.

After the colonists' goods were unloaded, the town of Savannah was planned. The squares, lots, and streets were laid out by Oglethorpe, with the assistance of Colonel William Bull of South Carolina. Lots and farms were allotted to inhabitants, and later confirmed by deed.⁶ Forthwith the building of the town proceeded. Nor was the Church forgotten. The present site of Christ Church was chosen when Oglethorpe planned the town. At first, worship was held in the General's tent, also in the open air; later the courthouse was used.

³Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 367.

⁴Lord Perceval's Diary, Nov. 1, 1732.

⁵A Brief Account of the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia, under General Oglethorpe (1733).

⁶Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 372.

The Reverend Henry Herbert did not remain more than three months. A fever brought him back to Charles Town, where he stayed till he was pretty well recovered. Then he left for England. The Reverend Alexander Garden of Charles Town spoke of him as "much more afraid than hurted"; and added: "The Doct^{rs} Intentions, I believe were very good; but neither did his Constitu^{on} nor Conduct prove so fit as cou'd be wish'd for Propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts."⁷ When Commissary Garden wrote the letter we have quoted (July 24th), he did not know that Mr. Herbert had already died, on his way home, and must have been in bad health when he left America.

The Trustees in England realized their inability to provide for a clergyman without financial assistance. They therefore turned to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.), which had already proved its generosity. On the 17th of January, 1733, before the first colonists had landed, the Trustees memorialized the Society, saying that it would be some years before the three hundred acre glebe allotted for the minister would produce a sufficient mainetnance. Help was needed. The Reverend Samuel Quincy, in England at the time, had been chosen for Georgia; and the Trustees hoped that the Society would make the same provision for him as for the missionaries established in the other colonies, till the glebe could prove adequate for his support.⁸ The petition was granted. Quincy embarked in time to reach Savannah in May, 1733.⁹

The Reverend William Guy, missionary at St. Andrew's Parish, South Carolina, wrote the S. P. G., May 14th, 1733, that "his Parishioners are so zealous in promoting any good Work, that notwithstanding the Charge they have been at in enlarging the Church (£3,500—South Carolina money) they have lately subscribed above five hundred Pounds that Currency

⁷Fulham MSS., S. C., No. 36. Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.

⁸200 Years of the S. P. G., 26.

⁹Stevens: *History of Georgia*, I, 321.

towards carrying on the settlement of the New Colony of Georgia.”¹⁰

Prior to Quincy's arrival, the Reverend Lewis Jones visited the colonists, making the trip from St. Helena's Parish, Beaufort. In a letter to the S. P. G., December 8th, 1733, he described Oglethorpe as “indefatigable in settling” the new colony, and he commended him for seeking on all occasions to cultivate an amicable correspondence with the Indians, some of whom “shew a willingness to be instructed in the Principles of Christianity”.¹¹ Along this line, Doctor Charles C. Jones has remarked that “in nothing were the prudence, wisdom, skill, and ability of the founder of the colony of Georgia more conspicuous than in his conduct toward and treatment of the Indians”.¹²

Samuel Quincy was a native of Boston, and was educated at Harvard. For several years he had served as an Independent pastor; but he conformed to the Church of England, and in 1730 he was ordained deacon and priest. Lord Perceval described him as “a young man of modest appearance”. The Reverend Thomas Page, in recommending him for the appointment, said:

“Meekness, Humility and Contentedness, bear a distinguishable part of his character. He is Sober, and Inoffensive, in his Life and Conversation.”¹³

The Trustees authorized the glebe to be enclosed and appropriated money for the same.¹⁴

The progress of the colony was slow. General Oglethorpe was compelled to absent himself a great deal of the time, because his presence was required in fortifying the southern part of Georgia. The Spaniards were jealous of the new colony; and the English felt that their frontier must be secured without delay. The letters of those early days give a picture of

¹⁰S. P. G. Abstract, 1734, p. 41.

¹¹S. P. G. Journal, 17 May, 1734.

¹²Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 370.

¹³S. P. G. A-24, p. 75.

¹⁴P. R. O., C. O. 5/666. Ga.

confusion, demoralization, idleness, and drunkenness. On the 3rd of March, 1735, Mr. Quincy wrote a letter which gives us an insight into the turbulent conditions then.

"We had on Sunday last an Affair that threw us into great Confusion. Vander-plank and some other of the Officers were called out of the Church and made acquainted that there were 40, or 50 White Persons, and as many Indians wth Musgrove at the Head of 'em, that were entered into a Design to burn the Town and destroy the People, at least some of them."¹⁵

A spirit of inertia seemed to prevail. The Trustees wrote to the bailiffs and the recorder of Savannah, May 15th, 1735, expressing surprise that not over forty-four acres in the town were cultivated. They added that they "have it at heart to provide a convenient Place for all the Inhabitants for Divine Worship, and will in due time send proper Directions for that Work, which they design should be very plain". They asked also for an estimate of "the charge of building a Brick or Timber Church 60 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 20 feet high within".¹⁶ Various gifts of plate, tracts, and other essentials for the Church at Savannah were sent from time to time.

Mr. Quincy found his work very difficult. He complained of bad health and hot weather. The magistrate left in charge was evidently a thorn in the flesh, and he described him as "a most insolent and tyrannical fellow".¹⁷ Besides, the attitude of the parishioners was so lethargic as to destroy such enthusiasm as he may have felt at the start. The inhabitants lacked interest in his efforts. "Religion seems to be the least minded of anything in the place," he declared. Notwithstanding all the discouragements, he tried to make an impression on the village. His clerk, "a sober young man", was directed to get a group of young men to meet every Sunday night. Some

¹⁵P. R. O., C. O., Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 5/637.

¹⁶P. R. O., C. O. 5/666. Ga.

¹⁷Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Series II, Vol. 2, 188.

seven or eight responded; and they read together the epistles and gospels for the days, and commented upon them.¹⁸

So far as the glebe was concerned, Quincy declared that it was chosen from the worst of pine-barren land. Dissatisfied, work was discontinued on it until the Trustees could direct where the glebe would be laid out.

There were about twenty regular hearers in Mr. Quincy's congregation, and from forty to fifty occasional visitors. The people excused themselves from faithful attendance on the ground that they had no convenient place of worship. The present place would not contain more than a hundred, they said. Sometimes the communicants numbered five or six; at Easter, there were fourteen to receive the sacrament. Mr. Quincy reported, July 28th, 1735, that since coming to the colony (some twenty-six months in all), he had held 36 christenings, 156 burials, and 38 marriages.¹⁹ The large number of funerals shows that the unhealthy conditions, so frequently alluded to in the Georgia colonial correspondence, were not exaggerated.

On the 28th of August, 1735, the tired missionary gave notice of his intention to leave the colony. He was worn out and discouraged. A letter to his kinsman, the Honourable Edmund Quincy, reveals his state of mind:

"Georgia, which was seemingly intended to be the asylum of the distressed, unless things are greatly altered, is likely to be itself a mere scene of distress. * * * Notwithstanding the place has been settled nigh three years, I believe I may venture to say there is not one family, which can subsist without farther assistance, and most would starve if they had not dependence on the trustees."²⁰

That Quincy was a man of fine qualities and irreproachable morals was attested by the readiness with which Commissary Alexander Garden of Charles Town—a very exacting man—

¹⁸P. R. O., C. O., Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 5/637.

¹⁹P. R. O., C. O. Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 5/636.

²⁰Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Series II, Vol. 2,

accepted his services and gave him missionary work in South Carolina. General Oglethorpe had enquiries made at Savannah regarding Quincy's conduct, and learned that his carriage was "more than inoffensive". John Wesley added his testimonial, as follows:

"All I have spoke to, inform me, That they judge him to be a good natured, friendly, peaceful sober just man, and that they have no Complaint against him either relating to his private Life or to the Execution of his Office as a Clergyman, except his absence from them (in New England I apprehend) which they believe was chiefly owing to his ill state of health."²¹

Besides being a new opportunity for debtors, Georgia was destined to become a haven for religious refugees. In this work, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the S. P. C. K.), though an Anglican organization, displayed real catholicity of outlook. For many years, certain German Protestants, belonging to the Archbishopric of Salzburg, then the most eastern district of Bavaria, had been threatened with persecution. In 1729, Leopold, Count of Firmian and Archbishop of Salzburg, began his efforts to reduce them to the papal power. As a result, by 1732 nearly thirty thousand had been driven from their homes to seek other lands.

In March, 1731, subscriptions were started by the S. P. C. K. to aid the Salzburg exiles.²² By November, 1733, the sum of £4877/15s./3d. had been received for that purpose.²³ The S. P. C. K., anxious to carry out the relief measures to the fullest, asked the Trustees of the Georgia colony to include the Salzburger in their plans. The House of Commons, in March, 1733, appropriated £10,000 to the Trustees for carrying the refugees over and settling them. There were

²¹*Georgia Colonial Records*, XXI, 216-217.

²²200 Years, S. P. C. K., 125-126.

²³*Ibid.*

private donations for the same purpose; and the S. P. C. K. published books to further the cause.²⁴

Through the efforts of the S. P. C. K., four transports, containing more than two hundred Protestant emigrants, mostly Salzburgers, were sent to Georgia. They settled with their ministers and school-master at Ebenezer, on land assigned by the Trustees of the colony. The expense of the undertaking fell very heavily on the Society, as we read in the official *Account* of 1743:

“The great Expence of these Transports, and the many extraordinary Charges that have been necessary for the Support and Encouragement of this Infant Settlement; together with 100 l. a Year as a Salary for their Two Missionaries and Schoolmaster, have so far reduced the Charities belonging to this Branch of the Society’s Designs, that they have nothing left now to answer any future Wants and Contingencies; excepting 2500 l. New South Sea Annuities, which have been purchased as a standing Fund for paying the aforesaid Annual Salary to the Missionaries and Schoolmaster, till some certain and settled Provision can be made for them in *Georgia*.”²⁵

The Salzburgers received a cordial welcome in Georgia. Their piety, which was very beautiful, is portrayed in the journal of Baron von Reck and Mr. Bolzius; and their influence must have been very wholesome.

The Wesley family will always be associated by the historian with the early days of Georgia. The Reverend Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth Parish, a man of versatile interests, had been keenly concerned with the work of the parliamentary Committee on Gaols; besides, he had been an active propagandist in favour of the Georgia colony. He had presented a communion service to the Church at Savannah; and

²⁴An Account of the Sufferings of the persecuted Protestants in the Archbishoprick of Saltzburg (1732); Extract of the Journal of M. Von Reck * * * (1734).

²⁵Account of S. P. C. K. (1743), 8-9.

had even written verse in order to give vent to his enthusiasm for the project. When Samuel Quincy resigned the Georgia field, the Reverend John Wesley, one of the sons of Samuel, was appointed missionary in his place. John Wesley and his brother, Charles, also in Church of England, orders left Gravesend, the 14th of October, 1735, and started on the long and tiresome journey to the colony. General Oglethorpe, who had visited England, was returning on the same vessel. There were two close friends of the Wesleys on the ship—the Reverend Benjamin Ingham and Charles Delamotte. Twenty-five Moravians from Germany likewise bound for Georgia, were also aboard; and their deep fervour and calmness greatly affected the Wesleys, and much of the time on the trip was devoted to religious exercises.²⁶

The 15th of February, 1736, they all arrived at the Georgia coast. Next day, Oglethorpe went up to Savannah.²⁷ From that time on, the General was so occupied with the task of protecting the southern borders of the colony, establishing frontier towns, and erecting fortresses, that he had little opportunity to give direction to the Savannah colonies. A few days after landing, he journeyed to St. Simon's Island, about a hundred miles south; the island was a strategic point of defense, in case of invasion by the Spaniards. By March 23rd, the town of Frederica was laid out, on a bold bluff on the west side of the island; it was designed as the military centre, to break the shock of hostile attacks. A battery of cannon commanding the river was mounted; the fort was almost completed; ditches were dug; a rampart was raised and covered with sod. Land lots were also assigned. As Savannah was to constitute the commercial metropolis of the colony, Frederica was to be the military outpost and southern defence. The latter soon became the headquarters of Oglethorpe's regiment and the strong rallying point for British colonization in the direction of Florida.²⁸

²⁶Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 397.

²⁷*Georgia Colonial Records*, XXI, 12.

²⁸Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 377-380.

We now return to the clergymen who accompanied Oglethorpe. While still students at Oxford, the Wesleys and their friends had been members of a small group of men, whose meticulous adherence to certain devotional practices had earned them the name of "Methodists". From 1729, every morning and evening it had been their rule to spend an hour in private prayer. They always prayed when going in and going out of Church. Three days each week, though separate from each other, they would, at an hour agreed upon, pray in concert. "They embraced every possible opportunity of doing good, and of preventing, removing, or lessening evil. They tried to spend an hour every day in speaking to men directly on religious things, never relinquishing the objects of their attention till they were positively repelled. * * * They persuaded all they could to attend public prayers, sermons, and sacraments; and, in general, to obey the laws of the Church catholic, the Church of England, the state, the University, and their respective colleges. They refrained from thinking or speaking unkindly of anyone; and used intercession for their friends on Sundays, for their pupils on Mondays, for those who particularly desired it on Wednesdays and Fridays, and for the family with whom they lodged every day." Far from being non-conformists to the Church of England, they communicated at Christ Church, Oxford, once a week. "They were tenacious, not only of all the doctrines of the Church of England, but of all her discipline, to the minutest points, and were scrupulously strict in observing the rubrics and canons. In short, 'they were', says Wesley (*Wesley's Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 334, 487), 'in the strongest sense, high churchmen'."²⁹

About 1731, they began their Wednesday and Friday fasts, taking no food till three o'clock in the afternoon.³⁰ John Wesley wrote a sermon, in 1732, showing that it was the duty of all Christians to communicate as often as possible. He asserted that with "the first Christians, the Christian sacrifice was a constant part of the Lord's day service; and that, for

²⁹Tyerman: *Wesley*, I, 72-74.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 81.

several centuries, they received it almost daily; four days a week always, and every saint's day beside".³¹ He also advocated the mixed chalice in the eucharistic celebration.³²

Doctor John Burton, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who was one of the Trustees of Georgia, advised John Wesley to visit from house to house and preach everywhere, when he arrived in Georgia, and to become all things to all men. "In every case," he urged him, to "distinguish between what is essential and what is merely circumstantial to Christianity; between what is indispensable and what is variable; between what is of Divine and what is of human authority."³³

The town which Wesley found was very different from the Savannah of the present day. It was a collection of about forty houses. On the eastern side, there was a swamp; on the west, a wood; on the south, pine forest. The principal buildings were the courthouse, which served also for the Church; a log-built prison; a storehouse; a public mill for grinding corn; and a residence for the Trustees' stewards. All the houses were of the same size.³⁴

John Wesley's stay in Georgia has been often described; and we may only review it briefly. The ardent young man entered on his work with enthusiastic zeal. Looking on it as an opportunity to reduce his ascetic principles to practice, he began with the directness of the partisan. It was his hope to catch the true Gospel himself by preaching it to the heathen. Here a disappointment was in store for him. He had dreamed of converting a savage race, but realized that he must give his whole time to the white population. There were worse disappointments and frustration in store. He learned that the Indians were not prepared to listen to the truth; and the temper of the settlers was far from his expectations.

None the less, he addressed himself to his task. Before he had been in Savannah three weeks, he had established daily

³¹*Ibid.*, 81-82.

³²*Ibid.*, 94-95.

³³*Ibid.*, 109-110.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 123.

morning and evening prayer and a weekly communion; he had formed a society which met on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday nights to read, pray, and sing hymns. Mr. Delamotte began to teach a few orphan children.³⁵ His school numbered from thirty to forty; and he taught the children to read, write, and cast accounts. Before the public worship on Sunday afternoon, he would catechise the lower class, and he would try to "fix some things of what was said by the minister in their understanding as well as their memories". In the morning, Delamotte instructed the larger children.

Wesley became more austere in his self-discipline; he seemed to be on the lookout for new methods of gaining the mastery over his nature. In his Journal, March 30th, 1736, we read:

"The next day Mr. Delamotte and I began to try, whether life might not as well be sustained by one sort as by variety of food. We chose to make the experiment with bread; and were never more vigorous and healthy than while we tasted nothing else."

Nor would the young clergyman tolerate an easy course in his parishioners. He insisted on baptism by immersion, and he refused to baptize a healthy child by pouring; rather than do so, he allowed another person to christen the infant.³⁶

Once Wesley visited Frederica, the scene of the fortifications on St. Simon's Island. While there he organized a small society similar to the one in Savannah; he also took occasion to reprove an officer of a man-of-war for swearing.³⁷ Admirable as his zeal undoubtedly was, it was not conducive to popularity. It was his desire to go to the Choctaws; but he was restrained by General Oglethorpe, who preferred to keep him in Savannah, where there was enough to hold his attention.

There are some very touching accounts of Wesley's ministrations to the sick and dying. He was without doubt a good

³⁵Ibid., 128.

³⁶Wesley: Journal, May 5, 1736.

³⁷Tyerman: *Wesley*, I, 130.

pastor. He visited his parishioners from house to house, as Doctor Burton had counselled him; and he circulated through the surrounding country on errands of mercy. Many and difficult were his trips; he learned the meaning of being lost in the woods. He took long walks, and was sometimes drenched with rain. In addition to his parochial duties, he mastered the German language, so as to render assistance to the refugees. It is remarkable that with all his activities, necessary and self-imposed, he was not remiss in keeping up his studies.

A parochial library was sent to Savannah for the Church by the Associates of Doctor Bray. It arrived in 1736; and it must have been of considerable help to the missionary.

John Wesley's indefatigable career in the colony was brought to a close by an unhappy episode, which arose from his uncompromising disposition. The niece of Thomas Causton, Chief Magistrate of the colony, was a young woman for whom the minister entertained a high regard. To his chagrin, she was married to one of the later immigrants; and Wesley, who felt she had broken faith with him, refused her the holy communion. Thereupon Mr. Causton had him indicted, on a series of charges mostly far-fetched and trivial. In spite of the impending prosecution, Wesley continued holding his services. The last Sunday he spent in Savannah, when his mind must have been distraught by the controversy, he followed out his full program, consisting of:

1. English prayers, 5 to 6:30 A. M.
2. Italian prayers, 9 A. M.
3. Sermon and Holy Communion for the English
10:30 to 12:30.
4. Service for the French, 1 P. M.
5. Catechising of children, 2 P. M.
6. Third English service, 3 P. M.
7. Meeting in his own house for reading, prayer,
praise.
8. Moravian service, which he attended, 8 P. M.³⁸

³⁸*Ibid.*, 161.

(To be continued.)

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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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G. MacLaren Brydon

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No. 1

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE present number marks the beginning of the second year of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The editors are deeply grateful for the co-operation of many people in the Church. Also to those who have so freely and generously contributed articles without compensation. While there is room for improvement, not a little has been accomplished. One of the purposes of the promoters was to put into print manuscripts which have not hitherto been available to students of the history of this Church. A beginning has been made by the publication of part of the Jarvis Papers. The Letters of Ebenezer Diblee and Jeremiah Leaming have shed unexpected light on the life and thought of the Church in Connecticut. So with the articles on Texas, Alabama, Virginia and Georgia. And the interesting thing is that many more manuscripts are available and a place will be found for them in future issues.

WE are approaching the anniversaries of notable events in the history of the American Church. On the twenty-fifth day of March the diocese of Connecticut will celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the selection of Samuel Seabury, who was sent to England to secure for the United States a "free and valid Episcopate." This notable event will be observed by a special service at Woodbury, Connecticut, and a pilgrimage will be made to the house, happily still preserved, where the clergy met on that historic occasion. This celebration is preliminary to the larger one which is set for November, 1934, to commemorate the consecration of Seabury as the first American Bishop. It is planned to observe this throughout

the whole American Church. The arrangements are in the hands of a Joint Commission appointed by the last General Convention. Other celebrations are in the offing. In May of this year the diocese of New York will observe with suitable ceremony its one hundred and fiftieth Convention.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE was established at a time of peculiar difficulty for the launching of a new enterprise and its career has been followed by an economic crisis. Owing to these circumstances many large State and University Libraries have been unable to become subscribers and it is extremely difficult to secure advertising revenue. The renewals for 1933 are coming in with painful slowness. The present issue will be sent to all who subscribed last year. We are, unfortunately, not in a position to spend money on "promotion." The editors would make an earnest appeal to our readers to renew their subscriptions and to aid in securing new subscribers. The Protestant Episcopal Church is important enough to justify its own HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and is large enough to support it.

BISHOP Thomas F. Gailor of Tennessee will this summer celebrate the fortieth anniversary of his election to the Episcopate. He has kindly consented to write an article for the Magazine on "The House of Bishops Forty Years Ago." It should prove to be very interesting reading. In the next issue there will appear the first of two articles on "Samuel Provoost, First Bishop of New York."

BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN GEORGIA

By Edgar Legare Pennington

II.

NEVER doubting the integrity of his conduct, and highly respected by the leading inhabitants of the town, John Wesley could not endure the abuse of Causton and his faction. His sensitive disposition broke before the attack. On the 3rd of December, it was discovered that he had left the colony, notwithstanding the precautions taken to prevent his going. He made his way to Charles Town, where Commissary Garden received him with sympathy, and was so moved by his account that he wrote the Bishop of London that, though Wesley had been imprudent, he was innocent of anything criminal in fact or intention. "This Gentleman has met with full as hard usage as did his predecessor, Mr. Quincy."

It is evident that Wesley fell short of success by too tactless an insistence on matters of secondary importance—the very sort of things against which his old friend, Doctor Burton, had warned him. It is hard to appraise his work in Georgia. The Reverend George Whitefield declared that the good he did was "inexpressible. * * * He has laid a foundation that I hope neither man nor devils will ever be able to shake."³⁹

Wesley himself wrote that he had many reasons to bless God for having been carried to America. Besides the introduction it afforded him to the men and theological viewpoints of other nations and languages, he had been able to plant seeds from which a harvest might grow. "All in Georgia have heard the word of God, and some have believed and begun to run well. A few steps have been taken towards publishing the glad tidings both to the African and American heathen. Many children have learned how they ought to serve God, and to be useful to their neighbour. And those whom it most concerns have an opportunity of knowing the state of their infant colony, and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness to many generations."⁴⁰

³⁹*Tyerman: Whitefield, I, 135-136.*

⁴⁰*Tyerman: Wesley, I, 170.*

The stay of the Reverend Charles Wesley in Georgia was also unhappy. He had gone down to Frederica, eager for a chance to preach to the Indians; but Oglethorpe had used him instead as a sort of secretary. Being of a sympathetic nature, with a passion for souls, he allowed himself to be imposed upon by two brawling women, whose cause he championed, and who in turn resented his reproof and sought to slander him. He found the General a very disagreeable man. Soon a coldness existed between the two. Oglethorpe was working under a severe tension: invasion from the South was at all times a possibility. While fortifying the colony, he was constantly aware of the avowedly hostile Spaniards and the somewhat volatile Indians.

Charles Wesley's life was one of hardship and privation. He had but few of the comforts of life; in fact, he was compelled to sleep on the hard ground. "I could not be more trampled upon were I a fallen minister of state," he said. "My few well-wishers are afraid to speak to me; the servant that used to wash my linen sent it back unwashed." He contracted fever and dysentery because of the exposure. After an interview with Oglethorpe and mutual explanations, Charles Wesley made a trip in May, 1736, to Savannah as Secretary for Indian Affairs. Having countersigned all the licenses of the traders, he sent the General his resignation, as his duties conflicted with his clerical function. He was persuaded to remain a little longer; but in July he left, with certain despatches for the Trustee. His stay in the colony was less than six months.

The Reverend Benjamin Ingham, another of the celebrated Oxford group, also served in Frederica. He was more prudent than Charles Wesley; still he found his experience very disagreeable. Holding strict ideas of Sabbath observance, he was saddened to find his principles disregarded. The pioneers were impatient of restraint; and their good will was turned into resentment when they realized his strong convictions. "My chief happiness was daily to visit the people, to take care of those that were sick, and to supply them with the best things we had," he said. "For a few days at the first, I had everybody's good word; but when they found I watched narrowly over them, and reproofed them sharply for their faults, immediately the scene changed. Instead of blessing came cursing, and my love and kindness were repaid with hatred and ill will."⁴¹ Later Ingham accompanied some Indian traders to the upper Creeks, and spent several months there. He made a vocabulary of the languages of the Creeks and composed a grammar. At length he returned to England.

⁴¹*Fries: The Moravians in Georgia, 128.*

When John Wesley left Savannah, Mr. Dyson, chaplain of the Independent Company at St. Simon's, held occasional services at St. Simon's.⁴²

The next few years present a gloomy picture. The affairs of the colony were in a distracted state. Factions existed and parties sprang into being. The magistrate was opposed and was treated with scorn and contempt. For some time there was no clergyman among the English settlers, who were "like sheep without a shepherd."⁴³ There was considerable fear of the designs of the Spanish; and rumors served to keep the uneasiness alive.

At last a new missionary arrived, the Reverend George Whitefield. Whitefield was perhaps the greatest pulpit orator of his generation. When he landed in Savannah, May 7th, 1738, he was still in deacon's orders. In his company was his friend, James Habersham, a native of Beverly, Yorkshire; and shortly after their arrival, Habersham opened a school for destitute children and orphans. Charles Delamotte returned to England in June, highly commended for his labors, but penniless.

Before leaving England, Whitefield had resolved to establish an orphan's home in Georgia. The Trustees of the colony had granted him five hundred acres of land for the purpose; and prior to sailing, he had collected a substantial sum for the poor of Georgia. He purchased supplies, books, clothing, drugs, hardware, and food;⁴⁴ and was eager to begin his work.

He had suffered much before landing. The voyage had been a long and tedious one. He had caught fever, and had been bled three times and blistered on the journey. Undaunted, he held frequent services on board the vessel, exhorting the passengers and crew. Though weak at the time of his arrival, he lost no time. At five o'clock the following morning, he commenced his public labours by reading Morning Prayer and expounding the Second Lesson to seventeen adults and twenty-five children. He proceeded to visit the surrounding villages, and what he saw impressed him with the need of educating the children. Schools were opened by him in Highgate, Hampstead, and Savannah.

His eloquent sermons thrilled his audiences. Colonel William Stephens, secretary of the colony and a man of high standing and fine intelligence, was convinced that at last the Savannah Church had found a man who would repair the breaches and bring about a happy state of affairs. Certainly the zest and industry with which

⁴²*Stephens' Journal.*

⁴³*Letter of Colonel William Stephens to Trustees, January 19, 1738. Georgia Colonial Records, XXII, Part I, 67-69.*

⁴⁴*Tyerman: Whitefield, I, 106-109.*

Whitefield entered upon his work would justify the most sanguine expectations. On the 30th of June, he wrote:

"We have an excellent Christian school, and near a hundred constantly attend at evening prayers. The people receive me gladly, as yet, into their houses, and seem to be most kindly affected towards me. * * * I visit from house to house, catechise, read prayers twice, and expound the two lessons every day; read to a house full of people three times a week; expound the two lessons at five in the morning, read prayers and preach twice, and expound the catechism to servants, &c., at seven in the evening every Sunday."⁴⁵

It soon became apparent that the little town of Savannah could not contain a man of such restless and versatile energy. Whitefield's mind was still on his orphanage; and it was necessary for him to return to England to receive priest's orders, and incidentally to collect funds for his benevolent project. On August 27th, he preached his farewell sermon "to a congregation so crowded, that a great many stood without Doors, and under the Windows, to hear him, pleased with nothing more than the Assurances he gave of his Intention (by the Will of God) to return to them as soon as possible."⁴⁶

Doubtless Whitefield was sure of an appointment to the mission of Savannah. On reaching England, however, he learned that the Trustees had chosen the Reverend William Norris.

Norris landed in Savannah, October 15th, 1738. Conditions were very disagreeable from the outset; Whitefield's adherents showed their displeasure in unmistakable ways. Habersham, the school-master whom Whitefield had placed in charge of the services on leaving, was reluctant to surrender his post to the newcomer and insisted on conducting the religious offices himself. While Habersham's care of the school was unexceptional, the group of which Whitefield was a member were already jealous of the exercise of any interference or control from the Church of England authorities.⁴⁷ There was a growing tendency among the same little party to alter the regular Church services in a way unauthorized by the rubrics. Naturally a loyal, strict churchman would object to such liberties with the liturgy.⁴⁸

The Governor of the colony, in the absence of written authority from the Trustees, would not assume the responsibility of putting Norris in Habersham's place. The chagrin which the admirers of Whitefield felt at the appointment of another man was spread from mouth to ear. Colonel Stephens noted Habersham's manner of

⁴⁵*Whitefield: Works*, I, 44.

⁴⁶*Stephens: Journal*, I, 272.

⁴⁷*Georgia Colonial Records*, XXII, Part I, 323-325.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 351-356.

speaking lightly of Norris and contrasting him unfavorably with Whitefield; and though Stephens admitted Norris's inferiority as a preacher, he asserted that Norris was "punctual in catechising the children, baptising of infants, visiting the sick, and all other parts of his duty," and that he was modest, sociable, and unblameable in conversation and manner of living.⁴⁹

Norris's stay was rendered unhappy by backbiting and slanderous insinuations. Colonel Stephens has left mention of those malcontents, by whom "this Minister's Character must be pulled to pieces and mangled, that another, whom they are fond of, may shine with the greater lustre."⁵⁰ A scandalous woman of the town even tried to spread a story affecting his morals; but the clergyman, on the advice of Mr. Stephens, took the matter to the magistrate. It was proved by two witnesses that the scandal was without foundation. The poor woman was ordered to be publicly whipped; Norris, however, preferred to accept her confession instead.⁵¹

Gradually, the missionary gained the esteem of the people by his merits. Stephens says that he "was every day more and more confirmed in the good opinion of all his hearers,"⁵² and that his sermons were considered practical.⁵³ Among other tasks, Norris made trips to the southern part of the province. While absent, Mr. Habersham supplied for him in Savannah and read prayers on Sunday.

When Whitefield returned to Georgia, the 10th of January, 1740, he brought with him authority to take charge of the Savannah field. Norris was appointed minister of Frederica; and he took up his abode there in March. He remained on duty at that place till the summer of 1741, when he went back to England. During his ministry in the southern part of the province, actual hostilities occurred with Spain and General Oglethorpe requested Norris to attend the people during the war. The relations between Norris and the General were very unpleasant.⁵⁴ During his ministry in Georgia (October, 1738, to August, 1741), Norris baptised at Savannah 57 persons (including five Indians); at Frederica he baptized 22; at St. Simon's, 42; at St. Andrew's, 21.⁵⁵

It was soon apparent that Whitefield would be of little service as a parish priest. When he arrived in Georgia the second time, his orphanage was his major interest; all else was secondary. His attitude towards the Anglican clergy had undergone a change, largely due, no

⁴⁹*Stephens: Journal, I, 315.*

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 330.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 368-369.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 403.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 331.

⁵⁴*S. P. G. B-9, #151. Stevens & Brown Library of Congress Transcript.*

⁵⁵*S. P. G. B-9, #153. Stevens & Brown Library of Congress Transcript.*

doubt, to the fact that certain churches had been closed to him in his campaigns for funds. Perceiving his rather embittered disposition, some of his old admirers, such as Colonel Stephens, lost their enthusiasm for him.

During his visit to England, where he had been ordained a priest, he had raised over a thousand pounds for his charity. Once more in Savannah, he took charge of the parish and preached on those Sundays when he was in town; but his services were irregular, because of his visits north to collect donations. On one of his trips, he was gone eighteen weeks—not eighteen weeks of leisure, however, for he preached nearly two hundred times.

The month of his arrival, he hired a large house and admitted all the orphans he could find in the colony. A great many of the children of the town attended his school gratis. Soon his family consisted of from sixty to seventy. He erected an infirmary in which many sick people were treated and cared for without charge.

The five hundred acres which had been granted him, he took possession of formally; and in March, he began the erection of his great house, although he had only £150 in cash. Colonel Stephens noted in his Journal that "M^r Whitefield has employed nearly all the sawyers, carpenters, and bricklayers in Savannah, to build his Orphan House."⁵⁶ This institution he called "Bethesda," as he had designed it as "a house of mercy to many souls."

By the fall of 1741, the orphanage was ready for occupancy; and Habersham was put in control. Efforts were made to conduct the institution as efficiently as possible. Farming was introduced; hogs were raised; a garden was planted; and there was plenty of milk, eggs, poultry, and butter. Several assistants were employed, including a poor widow of nearly seventy, "whom nobody else cared to have." No one was turned away because of physical handicaps. One of the orphan boys was blind; another was an idiot.

There was no neglect of the day's program. All was elaborately planned, with due regard to devotion and instruction. The first bell was rung at sunrise. "When the children arise, they sing a short hymn, pray by themselves, go down to wash; and by the time they have done that, the bell calls to public worship, when a portion of Scripture is read and expounded, a psalm sung, and the exercises begin and end with prayer. Then they breakfast, and afterwards some go to their trades, and the rest to their prayers and schools. At noon, they all dine in the same room, and have comfortable and wholesome diet provided. A hymn is sung before and after dinner. Then, in about half an hour, to school again; and between whiles, find

⁵⁶*Stephens: Journal, II, 248-249.*

time enough for recreation. A little after sunset, the bell calls to public duty again, which is performed in the same manner as in the morning. After that they sup, and are attended to bed by one of their masters, who then pray with them, as they often do privately."⁵⁷

Whitefield's project had its detractors from the start. Commissary Alexander Garden of Charles Town described the orphanage as "a scandalous Bubble," and declared that many of the poor orphans "are starved out, and the few remaining are in a starving Condition, while yet their Founder has been reaping a double Harvest for them in *Scotland*." Mr. Garden's sentiment towards Whitefield and his labours was probably coloured by the unpleasantness which existed between the two men. Whitefield had ignored the Commissary's authority as the representative of the Bishop of London and had held services in South Carolina in disobedience to order, and he had been tried for insubordination.

There is no doubt that the orphans at Bethesda were well cared for, and many were qualified for trades. Bethesda is the oldest organized charity in America. The road which was soon cut through, connecting it with Savannah, was the first highway ever constructed in Georgia.

Whitefield's increasing opposition to the Anglican clergy and his strenuous championship of a highly emotionalized type of religious fervour laid him liable to suspicion by both Church of England men and many of the non-conformists. As a result he was brought into bitter controversy. Calvinistic views grew upon him and served to alienate him from other churchmen and to identify him with some of the Independents. He never withdrew from the priesthood of the English Church; but it seemed that in heart he was a dissenter, if not in fact, and he rather gloried in the destructive criticism of his brother clergy. He remains one of the enigmas of Church history—a man of rare gifts, of magnificent vision, of tireless energy, yet essentially an individualist. He abhorred all appearances of restraint; in spirit he was a rebel. Still no one can deny that he was an earnest, sincere follower of his guiding light. He died, as he lived, in the communion of the Church of England; and Episcopalians may point with pride to his Georgia project as one of the truly great examples of social service endeavour in colonial America.

In the middle of July, 1740, Whitefield had resigned his Savannah parish, so as to devote himself entirely to his benevolent enterprise. The Reverend William Metcalfe was appointed his successor. But Metcalfe died before entering upon his duties; and Mr. Norris, who was stationed at Frederica, held services occasionally. A Mr. Camp-

⁵⁷*Whitefield: Works, III, 446.*

bell, who was not in Church orders, also helped supply the vacancy. Nothing could take the place of regular services, however; and the congregations dwindled away.

The Reverend Christopher Orton was appointed missionary the 25th of July, 1741. Colonel Stephens states that he did his duties "with great decorum and diligence," but the enthusiastic influences of Whitefield and his followers caused him to be opposed.⁵⁸ He was described as "a gentleman who had the good of the colony to heart." He laboured daily to promote the Trustees' interest, and was "an enemy to hypocrisy and guile, however gorgeously arrayed."⁵⁹ By the 4th of March, 1742, he was able to report that his congregation was much improved, "both in the number of Persons & their Regard to, & Zeal for the established Church." The opposition of the dissenting party, he added, had contributed to expose their errors, so that they were now looked upon with contempt.⁶⁰

Mr. Orton did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his toil. He died in August, 1742. Mr. John Dobell, whom Whitefield had appointed master of one of the schools, read prayers and sermons after his death.⁶¹

At last, the long anticipated invasion of the hostile forces from Florida occurred. The Spanish troops were defeated at the Battle of Bloody Marsh, near Frederica. Danger was over; and on the 23rd of July, 1743, General Oglethorpe sailed for England, never to return to Georgia. Colonel William Stephens became president of the colony. At a later period of his administration, certain restrictions which had been enforced in the early history of the colony were removed. Originally the importation of liquors was forbidden, and slaves could not be introduced. It was not till 1749 that slaves were admitted to Georgia. At that time, philanthropists like Whitefield advocated the introduction of slaves, as they felt that it afforded a means of contact with the Christian religion and would make possible the salvation of the negroes' souls.

On July 4th, 1743, the royal bounty was granted to the Reverend Thomas Bosomworth.⁶² As a young man, he had been sent to Georgia, where he had served as a clerk under Colonel Stephens. He was of brilliant parts, but the Colonel grew to distrust him. The year before he was licensed by the Bishop of London "to perform all religious and ecclesiastical offices in the colony of Georgia," he was

⁵⁸*Georgia Colonial Records, XXIII, 211.*

⁵⁹*Ibid., 436.*

⁶⁰*Ibid., 228-231.*

⁶¹*Ibid., 410.*

⁶²*Fothergill, 15.*

found studying divinity and writing lyrics, while as a clerk he was unsatisfactory.⁶³ In pursuance of his bent, he went to England and was ordained. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.) gave him an allowance for his missionary services. On the 21st of December, 1743, "after a very long and tedious passage," he arrived in Georgia.⁶⁴

Bosomworth's mission took him over the whole colony; and Savannah had only a small share of his time.⁶⁵ He ministered at Frederica, where he found nearly a thousand, including the regiment, who needed his services. He worked as a deputy of the Reverend Doctor Burton, the chaplain of Oglethorpe's regiment, who held the post without rendering any offices in return.⁶⁶

The appointment of Bosomworth proved unfortunate. He was married to Mary Musgrove, the half-breed Indian who had been an intermediary in the past between the whites and the Indians. Soon he betrayed a grasping disposition, and tried to take possession of various lands which had been reserved for the natives.⁶⁷ In 1745 his appointment was revoked by the Trustees.

Colonel Stephens was able to give a personal direction to the affairs of colonial life, which General Oglethorpe, absorbed in military enterprises, was compelled to neglect. A more hopeful spirit animated the inhabitants, which displayed itself in many ways. The Church felt the effects of the new attitude.

In 1744 there was talk of building a Church at Savannah. The General had donated £150 to Whitefield for that purpose; and Whitefield had expended the sum in digging and casting stone. There the work had stopped.⁶⁸ The Spanish war had probably been the main cause for abandoning the plans.

On March 28th, 1744, the foundation of the Church was actually laid, and with much solemnity. A Psalm was sung upon the ground. Then the congregation proceeded to the place of divine worship already in use, where Bosomworth preached a sermon.

Ever since Savannah was founded, the cause of the Church had suffered. There had been two clergymen of unusual qualifications—in fact, there are no better known names in Eighteenth Century Anglican history than those of John Wesley and George Whitefield. Their stay, however, had been short. No other clergyman besides

⁶³*Georgia Colonial Records, XXIII, 349-350.*

⁶⁴*Georgia Colonial Records, XXIV, 217.*

⁶⁵*Archives of the General Convention, VI, 516.*

⁶⁶*Stevens: History of Georgia, I, 358.*

⁶⁷*White: Historical Collections of Georgia, 21-31.*

⁶⁸*Georgia Colonial Records, XXIV, 231.*

had remained long enough in the town to give a definite stamp to the Church in the colony. We look back on the first thirteen years of the struggles of Georgia; and what we see is a rather confused picture, made up of frequent changes, long interims, and a consequent instability. We know now, at length, that a new day was about to dawn on the enfeebled Church.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SWEDISH WORK IN THIS CHURCH

By J. G. Hammarshöld

OUR Swedish work is a continuation of the work begun by clergymen officially commissioned by the Church of Sweden to minister to Swedes who from their first landing on the western bank of Delaware River in 1638 made up the white inhabitants of the Colony called New Sweden. Those ministers were instructed to plant the old Swedish civilization and religion in that region, which ever since has proved to be a good preparatory school for American citizenship. In discharging their duties the Swedish clergy were admonished by Bishop Swedberg, of Skara, who exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the colony, "to be in unity with the English Church."¹ The Swedish provost, Ericus Bjork, made the following statement (A. D. 1711): "We have always been counseled and instructed from Sweden to maintain friendship and unity with the English, so that we and the English Church shall not reckon each other as dissenters like Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, etc., but as sister churches."²

Of the 34 Swedish ministers sent to the Swedish colony, Dr. Nicholas Collin was the last one. During his ministry from 1736 to his death in 1831 he was so deeply impressed by the expressed wishes of his superiors and of his parishioners, that he employed six clergymen of our communion as his assistants in the great work he carried on in and around Philadelphia. One of these assistants, the Rev. John Croes, became, in 1815, the first Bishop of New Jersey. Historians of the colonial times relate that English and Swedish clergymen often officiated in each other's churches. This happy fellowship and union continued until 1831 as intimate as is today the fellowship and union between the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

The Swedish colonial clergymen were enthusiastic missionaries. When the Ship "Fame" in 1642 brought Governor John Printz to the colony, the Rev. John Companius accompanied him, and he lost no time in starting his missionary work. On September 4th, 1646, he

¹*Records of Holy Trinity Church (Old Swedish Church), Wilmington, Del., pg. 160.*

²*Ibid., pg. 143.*

consecrated the little wooden Church at Tenakong (Tinincum), used until 1700.

On June 17th, 1654, Mr. Campanius was present at a conference between Governor Rising and ten of the Indian chiefs. One of these chiefs, named Naaman, made a speech, "in the course of which he rebuked the rest for having spoken evil of the Swedes, and done them injury, hoping they would do so no more, because the Swedes were very good people." . . .

"The Swedes and the Indians had been as one body and one heart, and that thenceforward they should be as one head, at the same time making a motion as if he were tying a strong knot; and then made this comparison, that as the calabash was round without any crack, so they should be a compact body without any fissure."³

Indians often visited Campanius. In his conversation with them, "he generally succeeded in making them understand that there was one Lord God; that He was self-existent, one in three persons; how the same God had made the world from nothing, and created man from whom all other men sprang; how Adam afterwards, by his disobedience, had sinned against his Creator and involved in the penalty of that sin, all his descendants; how God sent upon earth His only Son, Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, for the redemption and salvation of mankind; how He died upon the Cross, and was raised again the third day; and lastly, how after forty days He ascended to heaven, whence He will return at a future day to judge the quick and the dead."⁴ The Indians became so interested in these instructions, and so well disposed to embrace Christianity that Campanius decided to learn their language, so he might more effectually teach them the great truths. With this in view he translated Luther's Catechism into the dialect of his Indian friends. This catechism is probably the first Christian book translated into the Indian language in America.⁵

From the year 1841 onwards a new wave of Swedish emigration swept to our shores. The first regular settlement that year was led by Gustaf Unonius, a man of refinement who had taken a degree in law at the University of Uppsala and served as a Cadet in the Swedish army. With his young wife and a company of cultured persons, Unonius left Sweden and finally settled at Pine Lake, Wisconsin. One of our clergy, the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck, happened to visit the settlement. Unonius and his wife invited him to spend a night in their cabin. Mr. Breck's zeal and devotion made a deep impression on Unonius. Before departing for other missionary stations Breck

³*Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware, by the Rev. J. Curtis Clay, D. D., pg. 25.*

⁴*Ibid., pg. 25.*

⁵*Ibid., pgs. 25-26.*

left some devotional literature, a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, and tactfully urged the newcomers to affiliate with the Church. He also emphasized the doctrinal and administrative similarity between the Church of Sweden and the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that both had retained the apostolic succession. Breck frequently visited the Pine Lake settlement. Recognizing Unonius' superior education, he asked him to act as interpreter whenever he conducted services for the Swedish and Norwegian settlers. He finally persuaded Unonius to regularly conduct Sunday services for his neighbors. After a while both Swedes and Norwegians urged Unonius to seek orders and become their pastor. He "thought it more than doubtful that ministers from Sweden would ever come." After careful consideration of the situation, "the inner and outer calling," he decided to prepare for Holy Orders at the recently founded Nashotah Theological Seminary. At the end of three years intensive study in that institution he became its first graduate, and in 1845 was ordained by Bishop Jackson Kemper. Four years later the great majority of his Pine Lake parishioners had moved to Chicago. At their request Unonius was called to start work among the numerous Swedes and Norwegians who had settled in that fast growing city. He accepted the call and in 1849 organized St. Ansgarius Mission, the oldest Swedish Church organization in Chicago. Much of his time was taken up by raising funds for a Church building. He travelled extensively, preaching and ministering to his countrymen wherever he found them. Church people in Delaware and Pennsylvania responded generously to his appeals for financial assistance. The Swedish singer, Jenny Lind, contributed \$1,500 to his building fund, and also donated a beautifully designed solid silver chalice and paten still used at the celebration of Holy Communion in the new St. Ansgarius Church, dedicated to the memory of Jenny Lind. Bishop Whitehouse became so deeply interested in Unonius' work that he personally undertook to raise the funds needed to complete the first Church and rectory.

In his Hale lectures on "The National Church of Sweden" the late Bishop John Wordsworth, of Salisbury, points out, that Bishop Whitehouse did more than any other American Bishop of his time to maintain those relations with Swedish churchmen which had begun when Sweden was christianized, and about one thousand years later had developed into a practical policy of inter-communion at Philadelphia and Wilmington. "In these acts of inter-communion Bishop Whitehouse only continued the policy of Bishops Swedberg, of Skara, Henry Compton, of London, and, in more recent years, of Bishop Charles James Blomfield (1828-1857), to which may be added that of

Bishop Archibald Campbell Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury,"⁶ who in one of his addresses said: "I suppose none of us forget how much the Church of England owes in its formularies to the Augsburg Confession, and how little chance there would have been, humanly speaking, of the Reformation spreading with power if God had not raised up His champion in Luther."⁷

Unonius resigned as Pastor of St. Ansgarius Church in 1857, and the following year he returned to Sweden, where he received, by a vote of the Diet, a grant of 3,000 crowns as a "recognition of his long and useful services to his fellow countrymen in the United States of America." When he died, October 14, 1902, at the age of ninety-two, he was referred to as one of the most active founders of Chicago.

When Unonius resigned, the Rev. Henry B. Whipple, afterwards the beloved and famous Bishop of Minnesota, took charge of the vacant parish. In relating his experiences during his many-sided work in Chicago, the Bishop wrote: "One of the three services which I held every Sunday was for the Swedish congregation. In my work for them I became deeply attached to the Scandinavian race, for their love of home, their devotion to freedom, and their loyalty to government and to God."⁸

In 1861 the Rev. Jacob Bredberg, ordained in the Church of Sweden, became Minister in charge of the work in Chicago. During his incumbency, which continued until 1877, the devastating fire in 1871 destroyed the first church building and added to the heavy burdens of the pastor and his impoverished people.

In his address to the Convention of 1861, Bishop Whitehouse makes the following statement:

"Among our clergy entitled to seats in this Convention is the Rev. Jacob Bredberg, an ordained minister of the Church of Sweden, whom I have recently received on his letters of orders and other papers from the Bishop of Skara. In this I have, of course, formally recognized the validity of the episcopate in that venerable Church: guided in that act by the best informed judgment of the English Church and that of my brethren in the episcopate here, whose opinion was favorably, though informally, expressed in answer to my own request for it during the last session of the House of Bishops in Richmond. This referred to the giving of Letters Dismissory to the Swedish Bishops as well as the reception of ministers from there as regularly ordained. Mr. Bredberg succeeds the Rev. Mr. Unonius in ministering to the Swedes connected with the Church of St. Ansgarius, Chicago, and

⁶*The National Church of Sweden*, by John Wordsworth, pg. 402.

⁷*The Church of the Future*, pgs. 11-12.

⁸*Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, pg. 434.

there is a prospect that through him I may be able to extend the use of our services into some Swedish settlements accessible by railroad.”⁸

During Mr. Bredberg's ministration the second church of St. Ansgarius was erected, mainly by funds provided by Bishop Whitehouse, who in an address to the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention referred to Bredberg's work and his translation of certain parts of our Prayer Book and a few hymns. The writer of this article has never been able to find a copy of these translations. If ever printed, it must have been a very small edition, distributed among parishioners and friends for comparison between the Anglican and Swedish manuals. In 1879 a translation of the Order for Daily Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Order for the administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion was published at Davenport, Iowa, and authorized to be used by Bishop William Stevens Perry. Its obsoleted liturgical language made it useless for public services or private devotions. The only Swedish translation of the whole Book of Common Prayer, accepted by the joint commission on a Swedish version of the Prayer Book appointed by the General Convention, was made by Dr. J. G. Hammarskold, and, on recommendation of the Commission's Chairman, Bishop G. Mott Williams, published by the New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society in 1914.

On account of poor health Mr. Bredberg found it necessary to resign his charge in 1877. His influence was extensive, both in Chicago and its neighborhood.

Not contented with what had been accomplished within his own diocese, Bishop Whitehouse visited Sweden in the winter of 1865, also the English congregations in the three Scandinavian countries, under commission from Bishop Tait, at that time Bishop of London. While in Sweden he entered into close personal relations with Archbishop Reuterdaahl of Uppsala. His address to the diocese in 1866 contains the following account of this visit: "At Stockholm I was favoured by affectionate intercourse with the venerable Swedish Church. The presence there of many of the bishops in attendance on the Diet, exercising for the last time the important legislative functions which they have enjoyed for 600 years, afforded me an opportunity which could only thus occur. The special courtesy and Christian sympathy of His Grace the Archbishop of Uppsala, assisting at our services, partaking at our altar, and folding me in many relations of confidence and love—the correspondent action of several of the Bishops—the legislative action in the pastoral letter commending their emigrant members to our bishops and clergy, have enlarged the personal intercourse into a real fellowship between the Church of

Sweden and our own in the United States.”⁹ During his journey, Bishop Whitehouse had with him an Englishman, Dr. F. S. May, who acted as his chaplain, and also enthusiastically labored in the interest of the same cause as a corresponding member of the Anglo-Continental Society, at present the Anglican and Foreign Church Society. The “Pastoral Letter” referred to by Bishop Whitehouse was a Ministerial Certificate, decreed by the estate of the Clergy, recommending emigrants, when access to congregations of their own church and creed is wanting, to the bishops and clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, for such care as may be desired or found needful. These ministerial certificates were of little or no value to emigrants from Sweden, because our Church had no Swedish-speaking representative to meet and direct them when they landed on our shores. Other communions had such representatives meeting incoming steamers and directing the newcomers to their well equipped homes for emigrants where needed assistance was freely given.

With exception of our work in Chicago and a few sporadic experiments in the Northwest our Church made no serious attempts to minister to Swedish-Americans until 1887. In the spring of that year the question of Christian fellowship and unity began to attract the attention of some Swedish Churchmen in Rhode Island. Those especially interested conferred with the Rev. Dr. David H. Greer, who at that time was Rector of Grace Church, Providence. He called their attention to the Chicago-Lambeth platform for unity. This platform appealed to their sentiment, because their mother Church, as they understood her, had all the required qualifications for the proposed unity. After careful consideration of the actual situation, Dr. Greer gradually reached the conclusion that the only practical way in which he could assist the perplexed Swedish Christians was to inaugurate a special work for them in connection with his own parish. The people gratefully accepted his proposition and requested that the writer of this article should be appointed minister in charge. The request was granted, and the first Swedish service held in Grace Chapel August 28th, 1887. From the very beginning of this new work, the first of its kind in the Eastern States, it was distinctly understood by all concerned that fellowship and unity between Swedish and American Churchmen did not mean *supplanting*, but *supplementing*; not an abandonment of the inherited faith and usages of the Swedish National Church, but a securing of what Swedish Churchmen in this country especially needed, namely, the historic ministry and Church government.

The people manifested a deep interest in the work, and its steady

⁹*Journal of the 29th Annual Convention, 1866, pg. 123.*

growth so impressed the late Mr. Harold Brown, a devout communicant of Grace Church during Dr. Greer's rectorship, that he visited its first Minister-in-charge and offered to build and equip a suitable church for the congregation on the following conditions: "That the consent of the proper authorities was procured and the canons in relation to new parishes were compiled with and a suitable lot, not far from the center of the city, was bought and paid for, and provided further, that the new parish shall be dedicated to, and always called after some saint connected with the Church of Sweden." These conditions were soon complied with, and two years after the above mentioned offer was made the beautiful Church was consecrated, and dedicated to the memory of St. Ansgarius on January 9th, 1892, by the Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Rhode Island, who, on that memorable occasion, emphasized the principles of unity by ordering that Holy Communion should be celebrated in Swedish according to the liturgy of the Church of Sweden. The Bishop himself received the communion from the hands of the first pastor of the Church just consecrated.

As American and Swedish Churchmen knelt beside each other to receive Christ's "most blessed body and blood," the Swedish communicants realized as never before the meaning and power of the Saviour's words: "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they may be one in us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me."

Three weeks after the organization of the work in Providence, the missionary in charge was urged by his countrymen residing in Pawtucket to conduct a service for them every Sunday afternoon. The Rector of St. Paul's Church in that city arranged to keep his church open for this and any week-day evening service the missionary might find time to conduct. After his ordination by Bishop Clark in Grace Church, Providence, on May 23, 1888, he extended the work by conducting occasional services in neighboring towns and villages.

When the Rev. Dr. Greer became Rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City, he invited his former Swedish Curate in Providence to start a similar work among the unchurched Swedes in New York and to organize it as a parochial mission in connection with his parish. The first Swedish service was held in the old parish Church, corner of Madison Avenue and 44th Street, on Sunday evening, April 14th, 1889. The Church was filled with a congregation of Swedes, Norwegians, Danes and Swedish speaking Finns. Bishop Henry C. Potter was present and, after greeting the congregation, proceeded to deliver a memorial address on John Ericsson, the inventor of the Monitor, whose remains were sent to Sweden on the

warship Baltimore. In response to the Bishop's address, a Swedish male chorus from Brooklyn rendered Josephson's impressive "Requiem aeternam" in Latin. In his warm-hearted greetings, Dr. Greer reminded the congregation of the friendly relations and fruitful co-operation that existed between English-American and Swedish Churchmen in Colonial times, and that the aim of his proposed work was not to make converts, but simply to minister to Swedes and other Scandinavians not connected with any Christian Church. He also stated that the Bishop of the diocese had authorized the use of the Swedish Church ritual at all public services, and closed his remarks by quoting the following sentences from the writings of Goldwin Smith: "The reunion of Christendom is likely at last to become a practical aim. Probably it would be a greater service to humanity, on philosophical as well as on religious grounds, to contribute the smallest unit towards this consummation than to construct the most perfect demonstration of the free personality of man." At the close of the service the late Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, representing the Vestry of St. Bartholomew's Church, said it was edifying to listen to the Swedish chorals, and that he would support Dr. Greer in all the work he would undertake among different nationalities.

A few weeks later Sunday evening services were held regularly in the little side chapel or reception room back of the Rectory. Dr. Greer often attended these services, because he enjoyed the congregational singing of the old chorals and wanted to meet the people. Once a while he would tell the preacher that he had preached a good sermon. When asked how he could judge, he answered, "by your voice and by noticing the impression on the people." For nearly two years the main Sunday service was held at 4 P. M. in Grace Church on East 116th Street, between Second and Third Avenues.

Easter Day, 1891, Dr. Greer received an offering from his congregation towards a chapel for the Swedish mission. This generous offering, in addition to the \$5,000 contributed by members and friends of the Mission to the building fund, enabled the Vestry to secure a vacated Church building on East 127th Street, and to remodel the interior so it would have a distinct churchly appearance. The chapel dedicated on Sunday, December 13th, 1891, has ever since been a centre for missionary and social activities until last year, when it was deemed advisable to discontinue Swedish services there, and invite the members to join the congregation worshipping in the new parish Church.

In September, 1891, six Swedish Students from the Universities of Uppsala and Lund became communicants of St. Bartholomew's Church, and, on recommendation by the Rector, Bishop Potter re-

ceived them as Postulants and Candidates for Holy Orders. After a year's study at the General Theological Seminary these six men were ordained and sent to different fields in other dioceses.

One of these men, the Rev. W. A. Sundelöf, Litt. D., started the Swedish work in Boston, and in 1893 organized St. Ansgarius' Swedish Church in that city. He has been a leader in all kinds of social and charitable work, edited a Church paper, translated books and articles about our Church, published a volume of his own poems and a selection of hymns he translated from our hymnal. He is still the vigorous Rector of the parish he founded forty years ago.

When Bishop Whipple became the Diocesan of Minnesota, in 1859, he continued to manifest the same love and concern for the spiritual welfare of the Swedes in his own diocese as he had done during his fruitful Rectorship in Chicago. He expressed this concern in an address delivered 1871, in which he said: "The position of members of the Church of Sweden in this state has long been of deep interest to me. With a valid ministry, a reformed faith and a liturgical service they ought to be in communion with us. For lack of their own episcopate as a bond of union between them they are becoming divided, and are losing their distinctive character as members of the Church."¹⁰ To give a detailed account of the Swedish work in Minnesota would make this article too long. Therefore the author can only refer to a few outstanding facts. Five years after the beginning of Swedish work in Providence, the Rev. O. A. Toffteen, a minister of an independent Swedish Lutheran Church, entered our ministry and began work among his countrymen in Minneapolis. He was an inspiring preacher, good organizer and a gifted writer, who later on published a paper, a number of pamphlets and several books. In 1892 he organized St. Ansgarius' Church. A large Church building was bought from the Dominican Fathers, and, after a re-construction of the interior, dedicated for services on September 13th, 1893. The same year, Toffteen organized two other mission centers in Minneapolis, and in 1896 St. Sigfrid's Church in St. Paul. The Rev. Harry P. Nichols, D. D., at that time Rector of St. Mark's Church, Minneapolis, was chairman of "the Swedish Committee," and as such the most helpful one to all Swedish work in Minnesota and other states. Through his efforts the main part of the funds needed for Church buildings were secured. When Toffteen became a Candidate for Holy Orders, his former independent Lutheran Congregations at Litchfield and Cokato followed him into the Church and, in 1892, both were received as organized Missions. From 1902 to 1906 Toffteen was priest in charge of Immanuel organized Mission, Chicago. Dur-

¹⁰*Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, by H. B. Whipple, D. D., pgs. 434, 1902.

ing these years he continued his post-graduate work at the University of Chicago until awarded the degree of Ph. D. He also built the large Church now known as Holy Cross Immanuel. When he resigned, he was appointed professor of Semitic Languages and Old Testament Literature at the Western Theological Seminary. During the five years he occupied this position, he published several books. Of these, his "Ancient Chronology, Part 1," and "Researches in Biblical Archæology, Volume 2," printed by the University of Chicago Press for the Oriental Society of the Western Theological Seminary, received commendations of eminent scholars in various countries. After a long and painful illness he died in Chicago, February 14, 1929.

During the last 83 years forty-five Swedish clergymen have worked, for some time of their active ministry, among their countrymen at fifty-six Missions and preaching stations within the dioceses of Milwaukee, Chicago, Rhode Island, Minnesota, New York, Long Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Quincy, Duluth, Western Massachusetts, Colorado, Marquette, Harrisburg, Newark, and the Missionary Jurisdiction of North Dakota. At only few of these stations has the work been permanent. The temporary work at the other places has served the purpose of making people realize that the parochial clergy of our ordinary American parishes are interested in the spiritual welfare of all who do not attend churches of any other communion. The results obtained have fully justified the efforts made. In 1887 it was an exception to find a child of Swedish parentage in any of our regular Sunday Schools and confirmation classes. To-day there are thousands of them connected with these and other branches of our parochial activities all over the land.

For 80 years past some leading Swedish clergymen of other communions have severely criticised our work. In speech and print they have referred to our Church as the "back door to Rome," and her Swedish clergy as "deceivers," "traitors," and "worshippers of the golden calf of Episcopatism," who "have only an undefined mixture of Calvinism and Romanism to offer their misled followers." The individualism of these critics and their zeal for their interpretation of "pure doctrine" seem to have made them blind to the practical value of historic continuity of thought and church government as well as the crying need of co-operative efforts in behalf of the two-thirds of our Swedish-American population who are still outside of all religious organizations in this Republic. This deplorable condition is due to "our unhappy divisions," which "hinder us from godly union and concord." In spite of redoubled denominational vigilance, the situation is daily becoming worse. Unified Christian effort all over

this broad land is the only adequate remedy. But this remedy cannot be applied so long as different communions remain "disobedient unto the heavenly vision" and indifferent to what "the spirit saith unto the churches."

WILLIAM CROSWELL AND CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON

By Mary Kent Davey Babcock

TWENTY years ago this summer, Christ Church, Salem Street, Boston, was undergoing drastic repairs and renovations. From the tip of the beautiful spire to the mouldering tombs under the aisles, not a blemish was to be left that she might be, on her two hundredth birthday in 1923, like the King's daughter, all glorious within. This was by no means the first time in her history that the sound of hammer and saw had been heard within her walls, scattering worshippers far and wide. In the course of time the steeple had been blown down and rebuilt, taken down, repaired and put up again; the great east window had disappeared to give place to a painting; increased attendance had necessitated filling the center aisle with pews; the fat cherubs which once garlanded the old organ, had come forward to grace the railing about the organ gallery, when the larger instrument had been installed; Capt. John Odin's "elegant stove" had given way to a furnace; and for nearly two centuries the word of God had been preached from a pulpit, which shifted hither and yon, was now to be permanently fixed in place.

With its ivy-covered walls of painted brick, the ancient church had presented an unchanging front in the midst of ever-mounting waves of alien new-comers, which threatened to submerge it but never did. Now in December, 1912, the ivy stripped from the walls, paint blasted from the bricks, the chancel window uncovered, aisles, pews and pulpit as they were in 1723, and with the Bishop of the Diocese as Rector, a new lease of life began for Christ Church on the eve of its third century.

Arnold Bennett writing in "Your United States" his impressions of a first visit to Boston that same summer, did not know all that was afoot when he visited the quarter where the "legend of Paul Revere seemed to float like a long trail of vapor," and beholding the "Christopher Wren spire of Paul Revere's Signal-Church," which he adds "is closed now, but whether because the congregation has dwindled to six or for some more recondite reason," was whirled through "bewildering congeries of crowded streets, where every name on the walls seemed to be Italian and where every corner was dangerous with

vegetable barrows, tram-cars and perambulators." Unwittingly, however, Bennett had put his finger on two salient facts concerning Christ Church,—the ever-present necessity of repairs on the fabric of this ancient building and its appeal to the public as a patriotic shrine. It is not Christ Church, the oldest church building in Boston, that attracts the imagination of the public, but as Dr. Dewart has so happily phrased it, the "Old North Church of Paul Revere fame," which easily becomes to the foreign visitor the "Paul Revere Signal-Church." Whether we will or no, the great patriot has stamped Christ Church with his name, as indelibly as he stamped the lustrous silver which took shape under his gifted fingers.

In 1829 the Rev. Asa Eaton, D. D., rector of Christ Church since 1805, had consented to the calling of an assistant. A young candidate for the place, William Croswell of New Haven, was elected Rector, upon the unexpected resignation of Dr. Eaton, who became City Missionary. Not yet twenty-five, still in deacon's orders, there opened for this gifted and consecrated youth, a notable ministry of eleven years in Christ Church. Intimate friend of Rev. G. W. Doane of Trinity Church, Boston, later Bishop of New Jersey, with whom he was joint editor of the *Episcopal Watchman*, godfather of his first-born son, his namesake, William Croswell Doane, who became Bishop of Albany in 1869, poet, scholar and keen observer of life and things about him, first rector of the Church of the Advent, modest and untiring as priest and pastor, characterized by Phillips Brooks as "a man of most attractive character and beautiful purity of life," "one of the most interesting men who have ever filled Episcopal pulpits in Boston," he hardly figures in the annals of Christ Church as more than a name in the list of rectors—a forgotten man.

To one familiar only with the North End of our generation, it is difficult to realize the charm and serenity, even as late as the middle of the 19th century, of what has always been a remote corner of Boston. Trees and little gardens, quiet walks and lanes, glimpses of the harbor down shady by-streets, wharves and shipyards cheerful with the hum of labor, grounds stretching down to the waters of a sail-dotted harbor, the air fragrant in spring with the scent of rose and lilac and gay with cherished flower-de-luce, green grass plots around comfortable homes on Hull and Sheafe streets especially, from whose windows one could gaze in aristocratic seclusion far down the harbor—this was the little corner of Eden to which came William Croswell in all the freshness and ardor of youth, the eighth rector of Christ Church, now six years over the century mark.

In the immediate vicinity of the church, which alone remains as it was a century ago, were grouped, next north, the Salem Street

Academy; under the shadow of the church on the south, the Dillaways were dispensing their gracious hospitality; just beyond on the corner of North Bennet street rose the Salem Church; on the corner of Sheafe street the Newman house, only its gable end altered, still stood as it had on that April night in 1775; Capt. John Baker's comfortable home and gardens faced the "solemn elms" in the courtyard of the Phipps' mansion, once a royal governor's abode, both guarding the Charter street end of Salem street; and the Dodd house, nearly opposite the church with its gardens and flourishing fruit trees. Churched as no other quarter of Boston has ever been, with thirteen houses of religious worship in its restricted area, brooded over by the heaven-soaring spire of Christ Church, lulled by the silvery cadence of the Christ Church bells, and atop Copp's Hill the quiet City of the Dead to recall to mind those who there rested from their labors, here was a little cosmos in itself, homogeneous, self-contained, all unsuspecting that great wave of foreign invasion which finally drove away the last parishioner of Christ Church in 1919—this was the part of Boston where the young rector was to make his home for eleven years.

His first momentous journey by stage from New Haven to Boston was by way of Providence. The great juggernaut busses which now tear over smooth concrete roadways hark back unpleasantly to the stages of a century ago, and present-day passengers "burning up the road" will appreciate what he wrote from Providence Friday evening, April 24, 1829, (he had left New Haven, Wednesday).

I would beseech all in whom I have any interest to make their entry to Boston by any other approach than that of Providence. The only recommendation it has is, that it will wear all his sharp points down. Never, in my born days, have I undergone such a pilgrimage in a stage-coach. The coaches are *rickety* and the roads *rockety* beyond all conception. I feel very much as the man in the poem,—

"Seven centuries bounced he from cavern to rock,
And his head, as he tumbled, went knickety knock,
Like a pebble in Carisbrook well!"

The tumultuous journey ended at Boston on Saturday evening and the next day he preached at Christ Church and again the following Sunday. The first record in his diary as a citizen of Boston reads,

Sunday, May 31, 1829. Entered into the service of my first parish, Christ Church, Boston. In the morning was with them "in weakness and in fear and much trembling." Dined with Mr. Clark, Senior Warden. Attended Sun-

day School at noon. In the P. M. preached on the Ascension. After service presided in the annual meeting of the Sunday School Society for nearly three hours.

Writing to his brother in the first month of his incumbency, he says,

The Athenaeum Gallery of Paintings was opened last Monday, and although the weather has been unpleasant, more than twenty-five hundred season tickets at 25 cents each had been disposed of. There are some beautiful paintings at the present exhibition. There is a large proportion of landscapes and small pieces, many of which are exquisite.

He climbs Bunker Hill monument still unfinished, watches the building of the new Trinity Church and expatiates on the fine organ of that "solemn temple," Christ Church, "whose chime of bells would delight any man who has any music in himself"—poet, musician, scholar and priest, his lines had fallen in pleasant places.

A century ago, anonymity in literary circles was not uncommon and under the pseudonym, *Asaph*, young Croswell had contributed a series of sonnets and other verses to the pages of the *Episcopal Watchman*, founded in 1827, of which he and Professor Doane were joint editors. When his friend became assistant rector of Trinity Church, Boston, the labor of carrying on *The Watchman* devolved upon Croswell. But at the end of the first volume relinquishing his pseudonym and his editorial pen, he closed the last sonnet by *Asaph* with the line,

"Farewell, then, hallowed harp! forever,
fare thee well!"

and as *Asaph* wrote no more, though contributing frequently to the *Albany Argus* of which his brother Edwin was editor.

Hymns for the use of the Church had always appealed to him and now with a choir at his disposal, his *Hymn for Advent*, which had appeared in *The Watchman* in 1827, was arranged and sung at Christ Church on the first Sunday in Advent, 1829. For Christmas he composed two hymns which were set to music and sung in his own and two other Boston churches that same year. When the repairs on Christ Church begun in March, 1830, were completed in June, one can imagine the joy he felt in composing the *Hymn for the Re-Opening of Christ Church*, for he could truthfully train his choir to sing, with fine effect,

"And we, a happy throng
Wake in her hallowed aisles once more,
The breath of sacred song."

Years afterward, his godson and namesake, whose christening he records on October 17, 1830, as his ninety-ninth baptism since coming to Christ Church, William Croswell Doane, then Bishop of Albany, was to say of his father's "next friend and more than brother,"

"His poetry was practical. It was the wayflower of his daily life, its violet, its cowslip or its pansy. It sprang up where he walked. Between his poetry and his practice there was no antagonism."

Fifty years later, another biographer with equal truthfulness wrote, "Croswell's poetry was the crowning expression of a consecrated life," and one critic likened his poems to "beautiful carvings, the string courses, corbels, pendants, brackets, niches and tabernacle work of a Christian cathedral, adorning and strengthening the solid fabric, while placing the ornamental in due subordination to the useful."

The smouldering fires of Unitarianism which in the last years of the 18th century swept King's Chapel off the roster of Episcopal Churches in Boston, left Christ Church and Trinity the only strongholds of the ancient faith until 1816, when St. Matthew's in South Boston, and in 1820, St. Paul's, were consecrated. The rite of baptism he confides to a brother clergyman "has fallen into great disrepute and disparagement here, chiefly, I apprehend, from our close and contagious contact or rather envelopment with schismatics and heretics of all classes and descriptions." Yet his meetings with Dr. Channing left him "no longer room to wonder at the prodigious influence he exerts over his party. His manners are most simple and unobtrusive. The flow of his conversation, sweet, quiet and placid, and his power of the most fascinating and tranquil kind. He gains a great deal by his grave and solemn complacency, which never relaxes into a smile."

Through the charm and engaging personality of George Whiting Flagg, nephew of Washington Allston, the artist, he was induced to sit to young Flagg, who was only fifteen, for a portrait, which proved so satisfactory that orders for the young painter poured in on him, rejoicing Croswell's generous heart that he had been "the means of filling the hands of this delightful boy with business." It is not known what became of this portrait nor of a miniature by Pamela E. Hill, listed in the Athenaeum Gallery in 1835 as "Portrait of the Rev. Croswell." The Barrett portrait done in 1848 is owned by the Church of the Advent, Boston.

Of the bi-centennial celebration of the settlement of Boston in September, 1830, he writes,

Our centennial was very imposing indeed, but my feelings were out of harmony with it, and I thought of Xerxes as he looked at his great army, or of that plaintive call of the herald at those celebrations in Greece which took place every hundred years, "Come to the solemnities which no living eye hath seen and which no living eye can see again."

His profound love of music and the careful supervision he exercised over its use in the services of the church, extended even to a knowledge of how to ring the bells in the tower. At the time of Bishop White's death he arranged a memorial service, to the great scandal of some who thought it was over-magnifying the Episcopal office, by draping the Episcopal chair and organ gallery in black, he himself, playing funeral airs on the bells. Of the singing in Christ Church so ably supervised by him, he wrote,

We attempt nothing but what is familiar as household words, and the whole church grows vocal as with the song of birds. On Christmas we shall not allow our friends in the gallery to amuse themselves with a single anthem.

A "neat little folio of four pages" entitled "*The Banner of the Church*" was undertaken in 1831 with the two friends, Doane and Croswell, as joint editors, its very smallness demanding much supervisory care in the choice of contents. A feature of the new venture was a series of papers in both prose and verse entitled the "*Christian Year*," suggested by Keble's title, the underlying idea being to explain and illustrate the various observances of holy days and Sundays. The early American edition of Keble's "*Christian Year*" contained several of Dr. Croswell's poems.

Of absorbing interest to him as rector, are the repairs undertaken in 1834 in "real earnest," the steeple invested with scaffolding to get at

the weather-cock weighing one hundred and sixteen pounds and more than six feet long—not so light a matter as weather-cocks generally are supposed to be.

He notes in his diary,

wrote something to put in the ball of the steeple, arranged in the shape of a cross.

The repairs of this year included a new vestry, in whose upper story, he was for four years to be, after his removal from his lodgings in Sheafe Street, the "Divinity Row" of the North End, veritably a "dweller in the house of the Lord."

William Croswell had the double gift of the deeply reflective mind and the ability to express his inmost feelings. His semi-detachment from temporalities is balanced by his deep human interest in all sorts and conditions of men. Though he could write in his diary,

I long more and more for some snug retirement where
from the loopholes of retreat, I may peep at the world, see
the great Babel and not feel its stir,

yet his was no touch-me-not personality which could not bear contact with the crowd.

However much he could long to be in the world but not of it, in declining to consider a less strenuous parish, he considers that "for quiet and retirement I have found that the larger the city the more retired and secluded from observation you may be," and being urged to apply for a vacant cure he wrote to his father,

Next to fortune-hunting I dislike parish-hunting. I have become so used to my unpretending old parish I begin to think I shall never find just such another. They take so kindly to me and put up with all my shortcomings, how can I think of leaving them? It is my first love and with all its faults, it will be as good as I deserve, if it should be my last. My people love me and we are assimilated together.

When finally the official call came to him from Norwalk, Conn., he wrote the committee,

I do not transfer my affections readily and I take so much delight in dwelling among the busy haunts of men, even though I mingle with them ever so little, that the idea of restricting myself in the country anywhere, is repulsive and revolting to me.

He could truly say as he did in 1834,

My hour is not yet come. When the clock which I am set to wind up here, runs down and it is all over, I shall flee to some other city.

The next time you are in Christ Church, Salem Street, glance up at the north gallery, which is on your left as you face the chancel, and imagine you see in place of that window, with its red shade drawn, "a door so small, as the Turkish spy said, that the least suspicion cannot enter it" and peeping within, "a little attic with one skylight and one side window." This was in January, 1836, the study which William Croswell was fitting up "very handsomely," over the new

vestry whose progress he had watched so assiduously. To his father, he wrote,

It is true, that the eaves slope down on each side to about half my height, but there are places where you can stand erect and the pure light of day comes directly down from above and almost the only sound you hear is the ticking of the "Abbey horologe" which tells of the passage of time and the approach of eternity.

Here the rector henceforth was to have his permanent study, lodge and abiding place, in which he hoped that the consciousness of his "immediate vicinity to all that is sacred in the habitation of the Lord's house and the place where his honor dwelleth," might not be without some effect in imparting a proper tone and spirit to his thought and conversation. "You know," he adds in the same letter, recalling his boyish attic study, "I am an old 'garretteer,' and have spent many of the happiest days of my life in these airy situations with notions quite lifted up." Here he began that series of charmingly familiar letters dated sometimes from "Attica," oftener from the "Cloisters of the Old North Church," or the "Cloisters of Christ Church, and less frequently from the "Cloisters of Cripplegate." It may have been on some such night as this entry records, "when the neighboring clock has just struck eleven and the ancient and quiet watchman who patrols this well-ordered part of the town, has signified 'all's well,' when deep sleep has fallen upon all round about but I feel fresh and wakeful," that the verses "Christ Church" were composed.

"Here, brother, let us pause awhile,
And in this quiet chancel muse,
On vanished friends who thronged each aisle,
And crowded these deserted pews.
To whom I broke the bread of life,
And poured the mystic cup of grace,
And hoped when past this mortal strife,
To share with them our Lord's embrace.

How oft at dead of night, when sleep
In heaviest folds wrapped all around,
I've come my vigil here to keep,
And sighed to hear some human sound!
Alone, amid the scene of gloom,
I've watched for dawn, and felt oppressed
To know, that, in that lofty room,
I was the only living guest."

William Crosswell's humor which bubbled up continually in his letters, might better be expressed by the untranslatable French word

esprit, an intellectual enjoyment which leaves no sting. As summer lightning playing about the evening horizon lights the distant scene and lends a soft and mystic glow to the landscape, so was the wit which makes his letters as readable today as when he wrote them. The sight anywhere of pen and paper furnished sufficient excuse to let his fancy free in a poem or letter. While attending the General Convention held in Philadelphia in September, 1838, as a clerical deputy, he wandered one day into Saint Andrew's churchyard, and entering the open conference rooms dashed off a delightful letter to a friend which begins,

The place where I write is a queer one. On the desks and seats about me the principal book is "*Henshaw's Collection of Revival Hymns*," while the Prayer Books are very scarce. There is one on the desk, the only one, I believe, in the room. "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who" is Henshaw that his *Collections* supersede the Collects?

The "glorious Fourth" of 1836 fell on a Monday and writing from the cloisters "where the noise and tumult of this day of uproar scarcely penetrate" he thinks he will hardly be able to resist a view of the much advertised fireworks on the Common and "after dinner may mingle a little in the stir of the great Babel." As the previous day he had "conducted three animated services," ridden to Cambridge at night and walked from thence in the morning, we quite agree with him that it is not strange that his pen should be moving

"Just like a sick man in his dream
Three paces and then faltering."

He could always poke fun at himself too, drawing upon his well-furnished mind for apt quotations. Describing a sultry summer Sunday and its soporific effect on people and preacher, he recalls Cowper's vivid lines,

"Sweet sleep enjoys the curate in his desk,
The tedious rector drawing o'er his head,
And sweet the clerk below."

The illustration is even more apt when we remember the original arrangement of Christ Church, with the reading desk in front of and below the pulpit and below that a desk for "the clerk, a very important functionary in those days, who, besides waiting on the rector, led in the responses, gave out notices, announced the psalms to be sung and kept the register of baptisms, marriages and funerals." The pulpit and reading desk in Christ Church are now today in their original

places, but the clerk's desk, like the clerk himself as a functionary, has disappeared.

And now for Church and Rector had come the parting of the ways. The clock that William Croswell had been set to wind up had run down. In spite of disinclination to change and aversion to rural parishes, he had accepted a call to St. Peter's Church, in Auburn, New York. If you read the story in the Christ Church record book which covers the rectorates of Dr. Eaton and Dr. Croswell, you will note that the clerk took the whole expanse of the last page to make his entry.

Boston, Sunday morning,
July 5, 1840.

"The Rev. William Croswell preached his farewell sermon and administered the holy Communion for the last time in the capacity of Rector of this Church. The Revs. Isaac Boyles and Bartlett were present and quite a large congregation. The Text was taken from Hebrews, 13th Chap^r. and 14th verse.

'For Here we have no continuing City.' It was a very well written discourse calculated and *did* touch the feelings of many of his hearers.

Attest, Elias W. Goddard, Clerk."

What the simple record lacks of warmth is well supplied by the Parish Resolutions, read to the Rector by a member of a sorrowing committee.

"If ever it fell to the lot of a Parish to enjoy the most disinterested, devoted and self-sacrificing Pastor, ours has been blessed with it during the whole of your ministrations beyond example. The sacrifice has been on one side alone, the only return we can make is our ardent gratitude and love to one who has ever been an anchor to our hopes and a Comforter to our Souls."

Although the rectory in Auburn was the first home he had had since he left his father's roof and he now had a wife to preside over it and a cure where he could preach Catholic doctrine "without exciting suspicion as to the soundness of his Protestantism," the music of the Christ Church bells is in his ears and the faces of those whom he had loved and cherished as friends and parishioners come to him in his dreams. At Christmas and New Year he recalls the "blessed days at the east" and gazing at a cherished picture of Christ Church, writes,

I bless in my heart all those who pass through its ancient gates, as often as they are now open and trust they will find it as of old, all glorious within.

The four fallow years at St. Peter's, which afforded so little scope for his missionary zeal, ended in 1844, when there came to him the opportunity to carry out the "sacred fancy of his youth," for his heart had ever "yearned to dissolve itself upon a ministry among the poor." He returned to Boston to become the first Rector of the newly-formed parish of the Church of the Advent, the first free parish church in Boston, where every day the sin-sick, the weary, the tempest-tossed might enter without money and without price, to hear the gospel message. In an intenseness of self-sacrifice, for which his eleven years at Christ Church had well qualified him, the rest of his earthly life was passed until his glorious translation on November 9th, 1851, while he was preaching to children after having baptized an infant.

No portrait of Dr. Croswell would be complete without a record of the impress which Christ Church made upon him and which he made on Christ Church, for it rests like a benediction within its very walls. He was the third of a great triumvirate of rectors—Dr. Cutler, the first rector, whose parish had no parochial bounds; Dr. Eaton, founder of the pioneer Sunday School, and just over the second century, Dr. Croswell, poet, priest and pastor. But while we see the first two, as through a glass darkly, fitting well into the chaste beauty of this historic church, in Dr. Croswell we feel the very pulse of the machine, his body as well as his soul, animating and vitalizing the whole fabric from bells to altar. The life and work of one of whom it was so truthfully said,—He was everybody's Minister that had no other—a Churchman of the Bible and Prayer-Book—a Servant of Christ's poor—add undying luster to Christ Church and should forever hold it sacred against the secularizing touch of the modern world.

BEGINNINGS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE FOR MEN IN THE AMERICAN CHURCH

By J. O. S. Huntington, O. H. C.

HAS what is known as "The Religious Life" a legitimate place in the Church?

As to that, there are different opinions. To some persons such a life seems to be the fairest burgeoning of Christian discipleship. By others it has been regarded as a perversion of the Christian ideal in a morbid asceticism, and a false, because self-centered, spirituality.

Whatever view may be taken, there is no question but that the Religious Life, as organized in communities, has been found in the historic Church from shortly after the apostolic age. The course of the Christian fellowship has been deeply affected by it, and without it would have had a very different history, in many ages and lands. The Religious Life is a fact to be reckoned with in any comprehensive account of the Church and of civilization.

This article does not attempt to deal with the question as to whether the Religious Life has been a help or a hindrance to Christian Faith and morals, or whether, if it has served some good purpose in the past, it is now outmoded and has become an anachronism. All that will be aimed at is to describe the first efforts to establish the Religious Life for men in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Two things may, however, be said, in the way of preface, to remove misunderstanding.

Prejudice against the monastic state has arisen from the use of the very phrase "The Religious Life." This has been taken to mean that the upholders of this state mean to assert that those who associate themselves in Religious Communities surpass other Christians in piety and moral excellence. That would, of course, be shocking Phariseeism, subversive of all true humility. But the term "Religious" is not used with any such implication. It simply indicates that the duties and obligations of the monk or nun are of a religious character,—worship, prayer, meditation, intercession, etc. That is their business or *métier*. If they sincerely fulfil their vocation they

are doing that which will unite the soul with God. That is not true of many useful professions. A man may be a skillful physician and yet live apart from God. A man may be an honest and upright merchant and yet never say a prayer or exercise faith in God. But a "Religious" cannot discharge the duties of his calling without entering into converse with his Maker. That is why he is said to be in the "Religious State," although, alas, he may have the outward marks of a "Religious" and be secretly unfaithful to all that it should involve of loyalty and devotion; he may "have a name to live and be dead."

The other thing to be said is that the Religious Life is not, in its essentials, alien to the life of the faithful Christian whatever his status and work may be. The virtues of the Religious State are none other than the virtues which all followers of Christ should seek to exercise. Every Christian is called to discipline his body, his mind, and his spirit, that he may advance in the way of holiness. The "Religious" disciplines his body by a life of strictest purity in the celibate state; he disciplines his mind by embracing the condition of poverty, calling nothing his own; he disciplines his spirit by placing himself under the Rule of his Community, and acting in accordance with the will of his Superior. In this he is seeking to carry out, under special conditions, the programme incumbent on all Christians. All souls are commanded to seek perfection: the "Religious" vows to use certain means which, he believes, have been indicated by divine instruction and witnessed to through centuries of experience as conducive to that adventure.

With these two explanations, we pass to an account of the beginning of the Religious Life for men in the Church of this land.

Some slight movements towards the monastic ideal were made in the middle of the last century. That strange personality,—constitutionally weak in body, and vacillating in spirit,—Levi Silliman Ives, second Bishop of North Carolina, worked out on paper a rather elaborate plan of a Religious Community for men, with its center at a romantic spot in the Carolina mountains, *Valle Crucis*. A fine, enthusiastic group of young men made an attempt to initiate the life thus outlined, but funds dwindled, one by one they left, and after two years the enterprise was abandoned.

Some such ideal may have been in the mind of a very different character, Dr. Augustus Muhlenburg. He was eminently successful in beginning various charitable works, such as St. Luke's Hospital, New York City, and St. Johnland in Long Island, but, while he founded the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion for women, nothing approaching an actual community of men came about.

The real inception of the Religious Life for men in the American Church was made in the year 1870 by a Religious Community of men in the Church of England known as the Society of St. John the Evangelist. That Society began at Cowley, a suburb of Oxford, in the year 1866. Three priests,—Richard Meux Benson, Charles Chapman Grafton (in later years Bishop of Fond du Lac), and Simeon Wilberforce O'Neill,—had been living together for a year, to test the reality of their call of God to the Religious State. Fr. Benson was the leader in this effort; the other priests were under his guidance. On the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1866, each of the three priests, in the presence of the others, took the following vow: "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. I.....promise and vow to Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, before the whole company of heaven, and before you, my Fathers, that I will live in celibacy, poverty, and obedience, as one of the Mission Priests of St. John the Evangelist unto my life's end. So help me God."

The generation that knew Fr. Benson has nearly passed away, and as he will always remain an historic figure, the Founder of the first stable movement in the Church of England in modern times towards the Religious Life for priests, it will not be out of place to give this brief picture of his preparation for the work that he was raised up to do.

"For fifteen years he had been living, in a cottage in his parish of Cowley, a life of self-discipline, in prayer and study and pastoral work. Intensely missionary-hearted, he had planned in 1859 to go to India with a view to the realization of a hope that later on a devotional college might be founded in which its members would live 'as much in poverty as possible, and as much orientally in every habit and mode of life as possible,' but the Bishop of Oxford was unwilling that he should leave his parish at that time, and he obeyed and waited. 'I know well what the apostolic weariness of such a waiting time is. I have had some waiting in my day,' he once wrote to Father O'Neill, 'but God gives us waiting times that they may be prayer times.' " Thus when the true call came he was ready, and was enabled to be a true Father Founder.

Fr. Mackay, of All Saints, Margaret Street, London, gives a vivid pen picture of Fr. Benson, in later years.

"Benson had no form or comeliness apart from the tranquil shining spirit which shone through his dim short-sighted eyes, and in the strong, benevolent lines of his mouth. A little, shrivelled, bent, thin, wiry, ascetic figure, full of energy, often looking as though he were concealing physical suffering, but at fitting times brimming

over with laughter and humour; a shabby, faded cassock girded very tightly—that is the figure people remember; a harsh, rather hesitating voice, no power of popular preaching, nothing to attract you short of the highest characteristics of all.

“But then those! The motives of Father Benson’s life were union with the most Holy Trinity in Unity. That was his passion. His thirst for souls, his battle against wrong, his love of all men, his consecration of the material, were all elements in his passion for God. . . . Father Benson was vowed to poverty and chastity because these were instruments for a clear vision of God and a closer conformity to His will; his humility and obedience were to him the necessary consequence of the attitude the creature must hold towards the Creator.”

And of Fr. Benson, Bishop Churton says: “He always seemed to me more full of the supernatural, of holiness and power which come from divine grace acting on a wholly surrendered life, than any one I ever saw.”

It seems worth while to have given this brief impression of the Founder of the “Cowley Fathers” because it illustrates the ideal towards which the Society has constantly aimed.

It has been the privilege of the Society to set forward that ideal in four of the five continents of the world. In the seventy-six years since it began, it has spread to India, South Africa, and America.

The foundation in America was made only four years after the first vows were taken. The three Fathers who took these vows had been joined by a fourth, Oliver S. Prescott. Both he and Fr. Grafton were Americans and in 1868 Fr. Benson had expressed the hope that “the American Fathers” would sometime return to the United States “to organize in the western hemisphere a Mission Society like our own.” In 1870 the Reverend Arthur C. A. Hall (later Bishop of Vermont) was admitted as a novice in the Society. He was then only twenty-three years old, a vigorous and attractive personality, with a well-trained mind and buoyant spirit. The following year, Fr. Benson and Fr. O’Neill came to America to decide whether or not to accept the invitation of the vestry of the Church of the Advent, Boston, to the Society to take charge of that parish. The plan went into effect at Easter, 1872, and in September Fr. Grafton, Fr. Hall, and a lay brother took up their residence in a house near the Church of the Advent.

The parish of the Advent was organized in 1844. The church building, still standing but now the Church of St. John the Evangelist, is on the north side of Beacon Hill, below the State House. The

parish had from the beginning been a stronghold of the Catholic Faith under able rectors.

It was intended at first that the house for training novices for the Society should be at North Bridgeport, Connecticut, and Fr. Hall, though himself still a novice, was given charge there, with eight young men under him. But this division of forces proved impracticable and in Advent 1873, Fr. Hall joined Fr. Grafton in Boston.

When, in 1875, Fr. Grafton went abroad for a long stay, Fr. Hall was left in charge of the Church of the Advent, and also assumed the spiritual care of the Sisters of St. Margaret, an English Community of women, which had made a foundation in Boston a short time before.

In February, 1876, Fr. Prescott, who had returned to America accompanied by Fr. Maturin, took over Saint Clement's Church, Philadelphia. Both Fr. Prescott and Fr. Maturin were distinguished preachers.

From that time on, the Society of St. John the Evangelist has gone forward in this country. It has conducted a long succession of Missions and Retreats, and its members have preached in many parts of the United States and Canada.

At present the Society has its Mother House near Harvard University, on the banks of the Charles River, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and has houses in Boston, New York, San Francisco, and in Bracebridge, Canada. The Society in America is now an autonomous congregation with its own Superior, Fr. Spence Burton.

In the autumn of 1881, three young priests associated themselves together in New York for the purpose of founding a Religious Community, to be known as the Order of the Holy Cross. The title was chosen with no reference to the short-lived society in North Carolina thirty years before; it was at least suggested by a Mission of that name which was being conducted by the Sisters of St. John the Baptist on the East Side of New York, among the German tenement-house dwellers in that part of the city. It was known as the Mission of the Holy Cross. The three priests were Robert Stockton Dod, James O. S. Huntington, and James G. Cameron.

Fr. Dod was the leader in the enterprise. His father was for some years rector of Trinity Church, Princeton, New Jersey, and he had spent his boyhood there and was a graduate of Princeton University, and of the General Theological Seminary. He was still young, a striking figure, tall, handsome, an excellent Latin and Greek scholar, an exceptionally able preacher, a good sportsman, and a man of deep devotion and piety. But the intensity of his experience in many directions had tended to burn up his physical strength and already he

was suffering from an asthmatic affliction which was to blight the brilliant promise of his youth.

Fr. Huntington was the son of the first Bishop of Central New York, and had been working under his father in Syracuse before coming to New York to join Fr. Dod.

Fr. Cameron had been ordained priest in Central New York and had worked among the Onondaga Indians near Syracuse.

Fr. Dod and Fr. Cameron had both of them spent some time at Cowley St. John, Oxford, and Fr. Huntington had seen a good deal of the Cowley Fathers in Boston where his father, before he was Bishop, had established Emmanuel Church. The new Community was therefore, to a certain extent, a fruit of the Society of St. John the Evangelist. Yet it was not a mere copy of its predecessor; it had from the start a somewhat different ideal and ethos.

Beside his acquaintance with the life at Cowley St. John, Fr. Dod had also spent some months at Clewer, near Windsor, England, where is the Mother House of the Community of St. John the Baptist. He had the privilege of frequent converse with the Reverend Canon Carter, Warden of the Community, and was guided by him in framing the ideal of an American Community for men.

As a first step in the organizing of the new Community, on All Saints' Day, 1881, in the chapel of St. John Baptist (then at 233 East 17th Street, New York) Fr. Dod became a novice, and his two companions, kneeling beside him, were accepted as postulants. This was their initiation into the nascent Community. These two postulants became novices six months later, on the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, May 3, 1882, after a week's Retreat at St. Mary's Convent, Peekskill, New York.

The officiant at these services was the Reverend George Hendrick Houghton, rector of the Church of the Transfiguration, 1 East 29th Street, New York. From the very first Dr. Houghton gave his wise counsel and spiritual assistance to the three priests who looked to him as their director and acknowledged his authority.

The three young priests hired a house in the midst of the great East Side tenement-house district, and took up the English work among the young people and children in the Holy Cross Mission. A German priest ministered to the adult German folk in their own language. The services in English and German,—the Church School, and Guild meetings,—were carried on in a large building, formerly the Dry Dock Bank.

The East Side of New York has been the scene of many changes. It was at one time the residence section of well-to-do families. Then, as immigration increased, the old family houses were turned into tene-

ments and large tenement buildings were put up. In time it became the most densely crowded spot in the world. Wave after wave of foreigners,—Irish, German, Bohemian, Polish, Russian—flowed in. The more enterprising of the aliens pressed on to the great empty spaces beyond the Mississippi River. Those who stayed in New York were the less efficient and least provided with means for their life in a new land. Thus poverty and misery grew steadily. This was the sphere in which the Fathers of the Holy Cross laboured.

By the summer of 1884 it had become evident that Fr. Dod could not live at the North. He had taken no vows, and was therefore free to withdraw from the work which, in its inception, owed so much to him. He went to Texas and died there several years ago. About this time, also, Fr. Cameron decided that he was not called to become a member of the Order of the Holy Cross and so he withdrew. But Fr. Huntington was not left alone. The Reverend Fr. Sturges Allen, who was to spend so many years in the Community and to die at its Mission in Africa, applied for admission and became a novice.

On the Feast of St. Katharine of Alexandria, November 25, 1884, Fr. Huntington was professed in the Chapel of the Convent of St. John Baptist. The Right Reverend Henry Codman Potter, then Bishop of New York, received his vows,—the vows for life of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The Bishop of Central New York and Bishop Quintard of Tennessee were present. When this event became known, through the daily press, a storm of protest rose. The Presiding Bishop wrote a letter of remonstrance to Bishop Potter.

In his reply to the Presiding Bishop, Bishop Potter said: "Do you know, my dear and honoured Presiding Bishop, what a tenement-house in New York is? Do you know the profound and widespread apathy of the Christian community concerning these schools of poverty, misery, and almost inevitable vice? Do you know that our own Church's mission work in New York has, thus far, not touched the fringe of this awful mass of sorrow and sin? All this these young men came to see and know; by personal observation and actual contact.

"And then they said, and said as I believe rightly, 'If we are to reach these people we must, first of all, *live among them*. It will not answer to have home and interests elsewhere, and then to walk over to the Mission Chapel and go about among the tenement population three or four times a week. If we are to get close to their hearts we must get close to their lives.

"And then, too, they said, If we are to do this work we must strip like the gladiators for the fight. We must be disencumbered of every tie and interest that can hinder or embarrass us. We must be willing

to be poor, to live alone, to obey a fixed rule (or regimen) of life, that so we may give ourselves wholly to this work."

Between the years 1880 to 1890, the Community of St. John Baptist built a beautiful church on the corner of Avenue C and Fourth Street, a few blocks from the building in which services had been carried on. It was in this Church that on December 1, 1886, Bishop Potter received the vows of Sturges Allen. The sermon on the occasion was preached by Dr. Morgan Dix, rector of Trinity Church at the head of Wall Street, New York, on the text "Who then is willing to consecrate his service this day unto the Lord?" (I Chronicles 29:5.)

Upon his profession, Fr. Allen became superior, in succession to Fr. Huntington.

Four years later, Fr. Allen and Fr. Huntington withdrew from the Mission of the Holy Cross and took up their residence in a hired house in the upper part of the city, 120 Pleasant Avenue.

A question will occur to some minds as to why the work in the tenement district of the East Side was abandoned by the men who had apparently dedicated themselves to it. A suspicion might even arise that use had been made of the work in the slums to foist upon the American Church a form of life alien and unwelcome to its spirit. In all fairness to those who commended the enterprise—most of whom have passed away—it should be said, with as much emphasis as possible, that any such notion is entirely contrary to the facts. The men who gave themselves to the work of the Holy Cross Mission did so in all sincerity. They had no thought of a future change of place. But their experience of years on the East Side showed them that "the tenement-house problem" was far more difficult and intricate than it appeared at first sight. One factor in the problem was the instability of the population. Families were constantly moving,—some every few months, others every few weeks. They migrated to the Bronx or across the river to Long Island. The possibility of building up a permanent congregation became more and more remote. The work was like preaching to a procession. To outward appearance the district remained the same, but the human element was in flux and flow. This was felt so strongly by a large Roman church on Second Street, that the ecclesiastical authorities bought up the tenement-houses near the church and tried to colonize them with their own people.

Moreover, as has been clearly shown, the purpose from the beginning was to establish a Religious Community for men; after ten years there were only two professed members; some change seemed necessary if this was to be developed.

For these and other reasons Fr. Huntington and Fr. Allen felt

themselves justified in passing the Mission over into the hands of a young German priest, a graduate of the General Theological Seminary. The Sisters of St. John Baptist have continued their work in the district up to the present time.

The story of the subsequent development of the Order of the Holy Cross does not belong here. In 1892 the two priests removed to Westminster, Maryland, and occupied a house, with some ground about it, opposite the parish church. The use of the house was the gift of Miss Lucretia Van Bibber of Baltimore. This was their first real monastery and, here the Religious Life developed and deepened and new accessions were made,—the first to come being the Reverend Shirley Carter Hughson, the present Superior, and the Reverend Frederic Herbert Sill, Headmaster of Kent School.

As the Community grew, it was felt that larger quarters were needed, and in 1904 the Community took up its residence in a permanent building, erected by the gifts of many people all over the land, at West Park, Ulster County, N. Y.

The present foundations of the Order of the Holy Cross, besides that at West Park, are at Kent, Connecticut, St. Andrew's, Tennessee, and Bolahun, Liberia, West Africa.

LETTERS FROM THE REVEREND DR. MYLES COOPER,
FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF KING'S COLLEGE, NEW
YORK, WRITTEN FROM EDINBURGH TO
REV. DR. SAMUEL PETERS, OF LONDON

From the Jarvis Papers, with Notes by the Editor

DR. MYLES COOPER was graduated from Queen's College, Oxford, in 1760. A little later the Rev. Doctor Samuel Johnson, president of King's College, in the city of New York, decided to retire from that position and looked for a suitable successor. The Archbishop of Canterbury recommended Myles Cooper "as a person well qualified to assist in the management of the College, and to succeed the President." Mr. Cooper arrived in New York in the autumn of 1762 and was at once made professor of Moral Philosophy. On the resignation of Dr. Johnson in February, 1763, Mr. Cooper was made president of the Institution.

The affairs of the college prospered under his direction until such time as the political situation between the Colonies and Great Britain became acute. Dr. Cooper was an ardent sympathizer with the British cause and incurred the enmity of the revolutionists. In April, 1775, he was threatened by a mob which gathered round the college with the intent to seize him. While Alexander Hamilton, then a student in the college, harangued the mob, Dr. Cooper escaped by the rear entrance; made his way to *The Asia*, a British ship of War, and was conveyed to England. He later became one of the ministers of an Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh, Scotland, and while there used his great influence to secure the consecration of Samuel Seabury by the non-juring Bishops of the Scottish Church. He died May 20, 1785.

To the Rev. Mr. Peters
Charlotte Street, Pimlico

Edr 20 Dec. 1783.*

My Dear Sir,

I freely confess that I have not used you well in not sooner answering your very friendly Letter. The only

**Peters endorses this letter: "Dr. M. Cooper's Brother, failed as a Cotton Manufacturer."*

Apology I can offer is, that I have not been well myself. Indeed, the very great Difficulties I labour under, from the misfortunes of an only Brother, who has a wife and Ten Children, without anything at present to support them, but what he draws from me, will convince you that I cannot be very much at Ease.

I have heard nothing farther respecting the Nova Scotia Episcopate. If any Motive could induce me to *accept* of it, it must only be the above Consideration. But if either Smith, Combe or Duche should be pitched upon (or any other rebellious Spirit) I should wish to oppose the plan with all my Influence.

Take not this *short* Letter amiss—I will be more explicit as soon as I am better; write me again, I beseech you, and believe me, in the mean Time (with my love to Miss Peters).

Dear Sir, yr most affect^o Friend, &c &c
M. Cooper.

Mind nothing of Franks.

Revs Mr. Peters
Charlotte Street, Pimlico.

Notation
"Cooper Dr
Dec. 6, 1784
rec^d 14th."

Ed^r Dec. 6, 1784.

Dear Saint Peter,

I thank you much for yr pamphlet You were so good as to send me by Dr Seabury. He will inform you why I thanked you not sooner. In short, I am but just restored to Life, from ye severest fit of Sickness that ever I experienced, as you may suppose, when I tell you that I was attended twice a day by four eminent physicians. I can yet only just write my Name,—so that I must refer you to Dr Seabury for anything that I might otherwise try to communicate. I apprehend his Consecration (which Murray most clandestinely endeavoured to counteract in Fav^r of that old Serpent Smith,* expressly so avowed) will make a considerable Change in the Feelings of our Church Governors. God grant however (as I hope it will, that it may turn out for ye good of the Church: and then all my Care is ended. You can write, tho I cannot. Presenting Comp^s to Miss Peters—& believe me tho a weak yet a sincere Brother in the Faith, and work also.

M. Cooper.

**The Reverend Doctor William Smith was elected Bishop of Maryland in June, 1783, but was never consecrated. He addressed a letter to the Scottish Bishops appealing to them to abstain from consecrating Seabury, and asserting that such a step would be "against the earnest and sound advice of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York . . . they not thinking him a fit person, especially as he was actively and deeply engaged against Congress." (Beardsley, Life and Correspondence of Bishop Seabury, p. 143.)*

Rev. Mr. Peters.

Notation.
 "Cooper Rev. Dr
 Jan^y 15, 1785*
 rec^d 19th-85
 Answ^d Feb^y 8, 1785."

Ed^r. Jan. 15, 1784. (1785).

Dear Sir,

Your Letter, dated Nov 1. bearing upon it the name of Mr Murray, reached me two days ago. What has become of *Him* I know not. It was put into the Post Office at a place called *Sanquhar* in the west of Scotland, and from thence I received it. What it is owing to I know not, but I solemnly declare I do not understand two lines of it. I know you *intend* to be mysterious, but if y^e mystery is made totally inexplicable to the Receiver, he had as well not be written to at all.

I wrote a few Lines to you by Dr Seabury in his return to your Metropolis, after he had preached to his Wisher in this Country: what y^e (result) will be heaven only knows, but he has acted, I think, the part of a *brave* man. I doubt not that the Arch Bp^s will be very angry both with Him and with Themselves: Some of the Bishops, I know, are not displeased in y^e least at the Step. Tis very true, Murray† wrote to stop y^e Business, but he might as well have blasted against Thunder. His attempt was despised in the North; and in the South. I should think it could do him no Service: for my own Part I shall Despise him for his Conduct as long as I live.—And I suppose he is pretty well satisfied of his Meanness, by this time, himself. If I was in Dr Seabury's place, I would not leave an inch of skin upon his Body, for y^e Part he acted towards *Him*; and the shameful *Lies* he told to the Scots Bps can plead no excuse whatever: for he *knew* that he was lying most atrociously.

The N. S. Episcopate, I hear is still pretty stationary. Will ever a Whig Minister promote the Chh of England? He would be brought in by the Corenors Jury Felo-De Se.

I hear that Vardill is gone to Ireland—pray can you tell me what Stay he proposes making there? I dare say he is not gone without Reason.

If you hear anything from America, I should be glad to partake of the Intelligence. I am still in a very weak and languid State—and not yet ever left by my Physician. I never had so narrow a squeak for it before. But I hope I

**1784 is obviously a mistake for 1785, as this letter was written after the consecration of Seabury.*

†The Reverend Doctor Alexander Murray, a Loyalist, was formerly minister at Reading, Pa., 1762-1778. In the latter year he went to London. While there he used his influence to prevent the consecration of Seabury, and wrote several letters of protest. He said it was not to be expected that the English bishops could proceed to the consecration "upon the recommendation of a few missionaries in their obscure private capacity." On the other hand, Dr. Murray warmly favored the consecration of Dr. William Smith as Bishop of Maryland, but that act was not consummated.

shall now get abroad as soon as the weather will admit of an Invalid's venturing. The Season here has been very unfavourable; tho I hear that *our* Weather has not been nearly so tempestuous as Yours; nor have we had half as much Snow; as hath fallen in Sussex, tho it lies upon the Coast.

For y^e future I will note your Direction Mr Watson; for y^e present This, I think may Do full as well. I would not give a Farthing for any Discovery *They* (whoever they are) can make against Me—I do no Treason, and I fear no Traitor. I expected to have heard from Brother Chandler &c, to whom, as well as to you, I wrote by Dr Seabury—but not a line from any of them.

With my Respects to Miss Peters, I remain,

Dear sir, yrs affty &c &c &c

M. Cooper.

Rev'd. Mr. Peters
Charlotte Street, Pimlico.

Notation.
"Cooper Dr
April 19, 1785
rec-June 1-1785.
Dr Cooper
Died
May 20, 1785."

Ed^r 19 April, 1785.

Dear Sir,

Your Namesake's Sermons (for which I truly thank You) are left at Mr Snidder's, Bookseller, 100 Fleet Street.

I am still so weak that Writing is painful: as soon as ever I get my Spirits You shall hear from me: in the Interim I *wish* you wd write.

Affetly Yours

M. Cooper.

MEMORIAL ON PROPOSED DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN VIRGINIA, 1776

With Introductory Note by G. MacLaren Brydon

The following memorial of a group of clergymen of the Established Church of Virginia was presented to the Virginia General Assembly on November 8, 1776, at a time when the Legislature of the new Commonwealth was receiving numerous petitions requesting the disestablishment of the Church or at least the removal of the taxes by which it was supported. The Legislature at this session remitted all Church taxes for the year 1777, continuing to remit them from year to year until, in 1779, these taxes were abolished. The Church, however, continued to be the Established Church of the Commonwealth, performing the civil duties imposed upon its vestries until the year 1784. The disendowment and sequestration of the Church's property was effected in 1801.

While this Memorial doubtless states the predominant opinion among the Churchmen of the period, there were many among them who believed that owing to the increase of Dissenters in the Commonwealth the time had come for the removal of the Church taxes from all members of other religious bodies. Typical of this opinion is the letter of James Nourse, of Berkeley County, Virginia, written October 18, 1776, to General Gates, in which he writes:

"Religion being likely to come next upon the Carpet, I offer my services for Burgess in the room of Rutherford, who is chosen Senator * * * I burn to kick out the Athanasian Creed to which we owe the existence of so many Deists and Atheists, and that in the public worship we rationally adore the one only self-existent God through Christ Jesus * * * However, I only purpose being there (*i. e.*, in the House of Delegates) till I can get the Church of Virginia established, and a freedom of conscience and from tax for all other sects." (This letter is published in American Archives, Series V, Vol. 11, column 1,112.) Mr. Nourse, however, was not elected to the House of Delegates.

The original of the Memorial is in the Virginia State Library. It is unsigned and there is no way of telling how many signatures were originally attached. There were

about 105 or 110 clergymen of the Church in Virginia at that time, about 90 being Ministers of Parishes or connected with the College of William and Mary. A few, about thirteen or fourteen in all, had refused to go with their people into the Revolution and had withdrawn from their cures, some of them continuing to live in their parishes, others having returned to England after the Declaration of Independence.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON.

To the Honorable the Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Delegates:

THE Memorial of a considerable number of the Clergy of the Established Church in Virginia * * * setteth forth that your Memorialists, having understood that various Petitions have been presented to the Honorable the Assembly, praying the abolition of the Established Church in this State, wish to represent that when they undertook the Charge of Parishes in Virginia, they depended on the publick Faith for the receiving of that Recompence for their Services, during Life or good Behaviour, which the Laws of the Land promised, a Tenure which to them appears of the same sacred nature as that by which every Man in the State holds, & has secured to him, his private Property; and that such of them as are not yet provided for, entered into Holy Orders, expecting to receive the several emoluments which such religious Establishment offered; that from the nature of their Education they are precluded from gaining a tolerable subsistence in any other way of Life; & that therefore they think it would be inconsistent with Justice, either to deprive the present Incumbents of Parishes of any Rights or Profits they hold or enjoy; or to cut off from such as are now in Orders & unbeneficed, those expectations which originated from the Laws of the Land, & which have been the means of disqualifying them for any other Profession or Way of Life.

Also, that though your Memorialists are far from favoring encroachments on the religious Rights of any Sect or Denomination of Men, yet they conceive that a religious establishment in a State is conducive to its Peace and Happiness. They think the opinions of Mankind have a very considerable Influence over their Practice; and that it therefore cannot be improper for the legislative Body of a State to consider how such opinons as are most consonant to Reason, & of the best efficacy in human affairs, may be propagated and supported. They for their Part are of opinion that the Doctrines of Christianity

have a greater Tendency to produce Virtue amongst Men than any human Laws or Institutions; & that these can be best taught & preserved in their Purity in an Established Church, which gives Encouragement to Men to study, & acquire a competent Knowledge of the Scriptures: And they think that if these great Purposes can be answered by a religious Establishment, the Hardships which such a Regulation might impose on Individuals, or even Bodies of Men, ought not to be considered.

Also, That whilst your Memorialists are fully persuaded of the good effects of religious Establishments in general, they are more particularly convinced of the Excellency of the religious Establishment which has hitherto subsisted in this State: That they ground their Conviction on the Experience of 150 years, during which period order & internal Tranquillity, true Piety & Virtue have more prevailed than in most other Parts of the World; & on the mild & Tolerating Spirit of the Church established, which with all Christian Charity & Benevolence has regarded Dissenters of every Denomination, & has shewn no Disposition to restrain them in the Exercise of their Religion: That it appears to your Memorialists that the Mildness of the Church Establishment has heretofore been acknowledged by those very Dissenters, who now aim at its Ruin, many of whom emigrated from other Countries to settle in this, from motives, we may reasonably suppose, of Interest & Happiness.

Also, That your Memorialists apprehend many bad consequences from abolishing the Church Establishment. They cannot suppose, should all Denominations of Christians be placed upon a Level, that this Equality will continue, or that no attempt will be made by any Sect for the Superiority; & they foresee that much Confusion, probably civil Commotions, will attend the Contest. They also dread the Ascendancy of that Religion which permits its Professors to threaten Destruction to the Commonwealth, in Order to serve their own private Ends.

Lastly, That though the Justice & Expediency of continuing the Church Establishment is a matter of which your Memorialists themselves have no Doubt, yet they wish that the final Determination of your honorable House be deferred till the general sentiments of the good People of this Commonwealth can be collected, as your Memorialists have the best Reasons to believe that a majority of them desire to see the Church Establishment continued: and as the sentiments of the People have been attended to in other Instances, they submit it to your consideration whether some regard should not be paid to their sentiments in a matter which so nearly concerns them, as that of Religion.

NOTES ON THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

Compiled by the Editor

ILLINOIS, *Joliet*: The following advertisement appeared in *The Churchman* for April 4th, 1835, and in subsequent issues:

TO EPISCOPALIANS WISHING TO EMIGRATE TO ILLINOIS

The village of Juliet is situated on the River Des Pleins and also on the Illinois and Michigan Canal route, about 40 miles southwest from Chicago. It was laid out in the month of May last, and about 100 Lots sold in June, at an average of upward of \$45 each; there being at that time but one family within three miles. It is in the midst of one of the most fertile regions in the whole western country, and the beauty of the scite is scarcely exceeded any where. This river, unlike most large streams of the west, does not flow its banks, and, consequently, its valley, as well as the surrounding country, is healthy; as much so as the valley of the Hudson or Connecticut. Since the 19th of June last, there have been fifteen houses and three stores built, besides a grist and saw mill and three other saw mills within three miles of the place. There is abundance of water found here for any purpose. The 16th Section of land, which belongs to the township for school purposes, and adjoins the village, was sold in September for \$8,800 which is now drawing an interest of ten per cent. Sufficient to support all schools for several years to come.

The proprietors of some lots lately laid off as an addition to the village, propose, and are now ready to deed to the Episcopal Church a scite for a church, equal both in size and value to a little more than two village lots, such as are now selling for \$75, upon the condition that a church shall be erected thereon within five years from the 1st of January, 1835, costing not less than \$1,500. And further, that this advertisement or a similar notice be published in some Episcopal paper printed in New-York or New-England at least six months in succession. There are in the village and within a few miles eight communicants, and about a dozen families friends of the Church, who have met once to hear preaching in the village, and it is probable a parish will be

formed early in the spring. This advertisement is published for the information of those desirous of emigrating to the Western country.

N. B. There are also Episcopal societies at Chicago, Galena and Peoria in this State.

NEW JERSEY, *Princeton*: Consecration of Trinity Church. 1834.

An Episcopal Church has been formed in Princeton, and a handsome house of worship erected. Yesterday [Wednesday, the 23d instant], Bishop Doane consecrated the building to the Prince of religion. Bishop White, of the Pennsylvania diocese, was present, and preached the sermon. That venerable prelate is now in his 87th year. He will tarry at Princeton, to witness the interesting performances at the commencement, which takes place this day. It is now "sixty-eight years" since Bishop White attended commencement at Princeton College.—*Ib.*

TENNESSEE, *Columbia*: Consecration of St. Peter's Church. 1835.

Consecration.—On Good Friday, April 17th, the newly erected church at Columbia, Maury county, Tennessee, was consecrated by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Otey. The Rev. Dr. Weller, of Nashville, and the Rev. Messrs. Newell and Munroe, were present, and assisted in the services. The Rev. Leonidas Polk, the rector of the church, was absent from the State. The services derived much interest from the fact, that this is the second Episcopal church consecrated in that State; that at Nashville, (which was consecrated in 1831, by Bishop Meade,) being the first, and till now, the only one. The new church is called St. Peter's, and is about 80 feet in length, by 40 in breadth, contains 60 pews on the floor, with a gallery at the end opposite the pulpit, which is to contain an organ, now preparing in Philadelphia. A neat vestry room in the rear, sufficiently large, perhaps, for a Sunday school, is connected by a door with the chancel and pulpit. The whole arrangement of the church is neat and convenient to the purpose of divine worship. Two other churches are erecting in Tennessee, one at Franklin, under the rectorship of Bishop Otey, and one at Clarkesville; funds have also been raised for the speedy erection of one at Memphis, on the Mississippi river.—*The Churchman.*

MICHIGAN: Church in Detroit.

Till the year 1821, Michigan was destitute of the services of the Church. In that year the Rev. A. W. Welton

visited Detroit, and occasionally preached. After his death in 1822, it was unsupplied for two years, when the Rev. Richard F. Cadle was sent to Detroit by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Soon after his arrival he organized a parish by the name of St. Paul's Church, and as soon as practicable a Sunday school was established and placed in connexion with the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union.

In the winter of 1827, a site was obtained and a subscription raised for building a church, and by the benevolent exertions of a lady of the congregation, some assistance was also received from Philadelphia and New-York. On the 11th of August, 1827, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart, in compliance with a request from the vestry, visited the parish and laid the corner-stone of the church, and on the following day administered the rite of confirmation to eleven persons.

In the succeeding year, the church, a neat brick edifice, 40 feet by 60, was completed, and on the 24th of August, was consecrated to the service of Almighty God by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart, of the Diocese of New-York. The holy rite of confirmation was at the same time administered to twelve persons, several of whom were members of the Sunday school.

A sale of the pews soon after took place, but a sufficient sum was not realized to meet the cost of the building, (nearly \$5,000,) and the church remained considerably in debt. A few members of the congregation, however, generously offered to take a part of the unsold pews and assume the debt, and the church was thus relieved from pecuniary embarrassment.

In the following spring, the Rev. Mr. Cadle resigned his charge of this parish, and accepted the superintendence of the Green Bay mission.

His labors, while officiating in Detroit, were blessed with great success. He found a few Episcopal families who had long been destitute of ministerial services, and many of whom were little acquainted with the doctrines and usages of the Church. When he removed, the congregation was much larger; a neat and convenient church had been erected; the Sunday school was flourishing; a Bible and Common Prayer-book society was in successful operation, and every thing, indeed, indicated an improvement, not only in outward prosperity, but in spiritual strength.

In 1830, the Rev. Richard Bury was elected Rector, and in June commenced his ministerial duties. The church increased very much under his faithful superintendence, though ill health, occasioned by excessive exertion in a former parish, frequently prevented him from officiating.

A class was formed for instruction in the Catechism, consisting of the younger teachers and more advanced scholars of the Sunday school. This class was peculiarly

useful, as many of the teachers were very young, and consequently had not acquired a thorough knowledge of the principles of the Church.

In the summer of 1830, a female industrious society was formed, whose useful and meritorious exertions have greatly aided in the purchase of an organ and bell, and in defraying many of the incidental expenses of the church and Sunday school.

A missionary society, auxiliary to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church was also formed, and a subscription obtained for supporting a scholarship.

But while the affairs of the church were thus prospering, the health of the Rector rapidly failed, and he was obliged to resign his charge in the spring of 1833.

In the summer of the same year, the Rev. Addison Searle took charge of the parish, and under his eloquent and faithful preaching, the church continued to increase; so that additional room was soon needed to accommodate the congregation. Accordingly, in 1834, an addition of 30 feet, and a recess for an organ gallery, was added to the building, with a basement room for the Sunday school. A new organ has also been obtained to suit the enlarged dimensions of the building.—*The Churchman*, May 2, 1835.

FLORIDA: State of Church in 1838.

Florida.—We find the following mournful paragraph in the report of the Rev. David Brown, the Missionary at Jacksonville, to the Secretary of the Domestic Committee.

"The Church in Florida, as well as the country, seems doomed to disaster and desolation.—Casting my eyes on the Journal of the Diocese of 1838, I find that death, disease, and removal, have swept from his place and duties, every clergyman then comprising the Clergy of Florida, myself excepted,—one half of the whole number gone to their account!—*Banner of the Cross*.

Key West: New Church.

We have at length, by the blessing of God, completed our church here, where one was so much needed. It is 36 feet by 40, has 36 pews, besides a gallery at one end, and, if every seat is occupied, will hold two hundred and fifty persons. The pews have all been sold, except four, which are reserved as free seats. I am sorry to say this number is not sufficient to accommodate all those families and individuals who might be induced to attend public worship. The smallness of our church is a matter of more regret, inasmuch as it is the only place of worship on the Key. It is, how-

ever, our misfortune rather than our fault; our means not allowing us to undertake a larger building. We owe upon it a debt of \$200 or \$300, and have yet to furnish it with almost everything but a bell. I officiate here once every Sunday morning, and hold a Sunday School in the afternoon. I have also a weekly lecture on Thursday evening.—*(Letter from Rev. A. E. Ford, Missionary at Key West, dated April 17, 1841.)*

Apalachicola: Trinity Church. Consecration. 1841.

Thirteen years ago, there was one resident within the precincts of the present city. The Chatahoochee sweeps along its eastern limits into Apalachee Bay, which washes its southern side, and flowing through a pass, debouches into the Gulf of Mexico. Its soil is white sand: Magnolias, cypresses and oaks skirt the confines of a promenade adjacent to the harbor, and in the suburbs and interior grow everywhere the pine and palmetto, yaupon and ti-ti, laurel and bay, rosemary and fragrant jessamine. A ridge of hill was razed to fill a marsh; which at once levelled the inequalities and improved the health of the city. After the decision between the claimants of title (the U. S. and Spanish purchasers) in favor of the latter, the site was bought by a company, and within four years, its principal dwelling-houses, and continuous rows of brick and granite stores on Water-street, were built. And now, many steamboats and craft of burthen lie at the wharves, or anchored in the bay, and at the Pass.

Its society is distinguished by intelligence, increases annually, and almost vies in numbers with that of the territorial capital. Through the pious suggestions of one, and the exertions of others, a church has been erected, and other societies are already emulous of the example. Until this winter, the diocese being without a bishop, and Apalachicola destitute of a clergyman, it remained unconsecrated. It is now "separated from all unhallowed, worldly and common uses, and its tolling bell and organ-choir make blessed music for the citizens. We are indebted for the consecration to the goodness of the Right Rev. James Hervey Otey, D. D., Bishop of Tennessee. Few know the rough perils encountered by our bishops, in their traveling visitations—their wants, their jeopardy, their fidelity. The unaffected simplicity and genuine excellence of this prelate won the kind feelings of the people, and friendly offices attested their esteem for his "labors of love."

Trinity Church was consecrated on the morning of Sexagesima Sunday. Upon the succeeding day the rite of confirmation was performed; and both of these ceremonies engaged the attention of the people, and excited new interest in behalf of the Church. The Bishop favored us with an-

other day of his presence, and then was compelled to urge his way to the fulfilment of farther engagements in other parts of Florida.—*Manahata*.

ARKANSAS: Visitation of Bishop Freeman. 1845.

Mr. Editor,—The Bishop arrived in Little Rock in the middle of May. Here he spent about a week preaching and confirming five persons. The Church at this place has been somewhat annoyed by the sectaries, so prevalent and easy of access to the West. From this she has, however, recovered; and her position, at the present, is no less favorable than it was at any former period.

The 25th, was spent in Van Buren, which is situated on the confines of the Cherokee nation. The Church, at this point, is less favorably situated than it was some two years ago. The missionary has been elected Chaplain for Fort Gibson, which has been vacant since the resignation of the Rev. Mr. Scull. An active and piously devoted man may here do much good. His immediate duties are in the garrison; but, then, he has access to two tribes of Indians, to whom, if the love of souls constrain him, he may be a spiritual blessing. Van Buren should, however, not be neglected, and it offers to a *man of energy* a field of promise and reward. The place is thriving, and has an immense "back country" for its support.

The 26th and 27th, were spent at Fort Smith. Here a court-martial was in session. The officer against whom complaint was lodged, was Col. Harney of the Dragoons: charged with severity.

The court brought together a number of very distinguished officers, to whom, and others, our good Bishop preached *faithfully* on Monday night and Tuesday morning. The congregations were at his command; truth was forcibly, philosophically, and well told; so much so, that an officer, high in rank, was heard to say, "I never heard better lessons in my life."

On this occasion the officers of Fort Washitta applied to Mr. S. to re-enter the army, which he declined, on account of the onerous duties required from Chaplains. As, however, it was offered to relieve him from the duty of teaching; and, as the Bishop was anxious that he should accept the offer, on account of the Fort's location amongst the Indians, on whom the Church might operate favorably, through him, the proposition has not been entirely abandoned, and Mr. S. may still repair to Washitta.

The Bishop and his clergy (three) returned to Van Buren on the evening of the 27th, where divine service was again celebrated: here the Bishop baptised seven infants.

On the 28th, the Bishop, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Scull, set out for Washington county, situate some sixty

miles north of Van Buren. Owing to the inclemency of the weather, and the points to be visited, the Bishop spent about two weeks in this hill and dale county. Notwithstanding the fierce and pointed opposition with which the Church has here met, she has never ceased to increase. When the Missionary arrived here, not a solitary Churchman was to be found. Three Episcopal visitations have been made: Bishop Polk confirmed eight; Bishop Otey nine; and Bishop Freeman four. Several others had applied for confirmation, who, owing to peculiar circumstances, were not present at the administration of the rite. And, there is every reason to believe, that the last number would have been double or even threefold, had not the minister been compelled to follow the plough for the last eighteen months for the maintenance of his family. Thus situated he could not visit his parishioners; and not unfrequently, we understand, has he rode home thirty-five miles after preaching on Sunday. Thus has he preached at three points, situated fifty-five miles apart; and thus has he endeavored to keep soul and body together. At the head waters of White River the Bishop recrossed Boston mountain, no mean hill, preached at Ozark, where there are some friends to the Church; and on the next day pursued his journey on horse-back to the "Rock."

The difficulties to be met by our Missionary Bishop are great; his field of labor is extensive, even from Judea to Britannia; by his toils the Church here will be benefitted; and it is gratifying to see that he endures hardships as a good soldier of the Cross: "Unto his life's end," may he have this spirit.—*The Churchman*.

82

INDIANA, *Terre Haute*: Consecration of S. Stephen's Church. 1845.

St. Stephen's Church, Episcopal, was consecrated in Terre Haute, on Thursday, Oct. 2d, by the Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, D. D., Bishop in charge of the Diocese of Indiana. The church is a very neat structure, 30 feet by 50, with an elevated roof and Gothic windows. The interior is of chaste design and finish; the chancel is 18 inches above the floor, and has at each end a lectern for the service of prayer and preaching. Over the altar on the wall is the inscription in large letters, "My house is the house of prayer." On a tablet in front of the church is the inscription, "The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." A plain cross crowns the point of the roof in front.

The consecration sermon was preached by the Bishop from Mat. xxviii. 18, 19, and in the service and communion he was assisted by the Rev. R. B. Croes, the Rector of the Parish, Rev. A. Clark, of Logansport, Rev. B. Halsted, of Fort Wayne, and the Rev. S. R. Johnson, of Lafayette.—*The Wabash Courier*.

VERMONT: Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of Vermont in the year 1791.

At a Convention of the clergy and laity belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Vermont, held in Sandgate, February 23, 1791, pursuant to public notice previously given in the Bennington newspaper:

Present, the Rev. James Nichols, of Sandgate; Daniel Barber, of Manchester; Bethuel Chittenden, of Tinmouth. Messrs. Abraham Bristol, Ezra Birch, Samuel Bristol, George Peck, Enoch Basset, Theophilus Hard, John Hard, all of Sandgate. Eleazer Baldwin, of Dorset; Henry Worster, of Paulet; John Pringle, of Hebron. Nathan Canfield, Peleg Stone, Zadock Hard, Ebenezer Leonard, Caleb Dayton, and Andrew Hawley, all of Arlington.

Eleazer Baldwin, Esq., was unanimously called to the chair, and the Rev. Daniel Barber appointed secretary: when the above laity exhibited certificates of delegation from their respective congregations, and took their seats.

The Rev. Thomas Ellison, Rector of St. Peter's, in Albany, State of New York, being present, was requested to take a seat as a member of this Convention.

The following gentlemen from the neighboring congregations, in the State of New York, were also desired to take seats in this Convention, viz.—

Messrs. James Prendergast, of Pittstown; Josiah Masters and Nicholas Masters, of Scaghticoke; Joseph Adams and John Hitchcock, of Kingsbury; Edward Gainer and Elijah Horton, of Cambridge; and Abijah Hubbel, Abraham Veninger, Joel Lake, Cornelius Bristol, and David Bristol, of Camden.

The Convention then adjourned to the house of worship, when the Rev. Thomas Ellison officiated, and afterwards preached.

Three o'clock, P. M.

The thanks of the Convention were unanimously given to the Rev. Thomas Ellison, for his discourse.

The Constitution of "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States" was read over in gross, and then by separate articles, and the sense of the Convention being first taken on each article, it was afterwards

Resolved, That this Convention approve of, and accede to, the said constitution.

The said constitution was then signed by the clergy and lay delegates present, agreeable to its fifth article, viz. "A Protestant Episcopal church, in any of the United States, not now represented, may at any time hereafter be admitted, on acceding to this constitution."

The Convention then proceeded to choose delegates to

the General Convention, should it be called before the next meeting of their State Convention, when the following were chosen, viz.

Rev. James Nichols, Daniel Barber, and Bethuel Chittenden, clerical deputies.

Hon. Stephen Roe Bradley, Eleazer Baldwin, Stephen Hard, and Alexander Pennock, Esqrs., lay deputies.

The following sketch of a plan of church government was taken into consideration, and ordered to be minuted for the consideration of the next Convention, viz.

1. The State of Vermont shall be divided into four districts.

2. A clerical and lay deputy to the General Convention shall always be chosen from each district, for the purpose of equalizing the representation.

3. The clergy and lay delegates from the respective congregations in each district, shall hold semi-annual meetings in their respective districts, at which the senior clergyman shall preside, and the minutes of such meetings shall be presented to him by the State Convention, at their stated annual meeting.

4. Whenever a bishop shall be elected to preside over the Church in this State, and he shall make a visitation of the respective congregations in his diocese, he shall also hold a district visitation, that is to say, the clergy and wardens of each parish shall be by him convened at any church in this district he may choose, that he may there charge them with the duties of their respective offices.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning.

February 24th, 9 o'clock, A. M.

After prayers, the Convention proceeded to business.

The following members were appointed a Standing Committee, viz.

The Rev. James Nichols, Daniel Barber, and Bethuel Chittenden, Nathan Canfield, Samuel Bristol, and Job Gideon, Esqrs.

A letter was ordered to be addressed to the Right Rev. Samuel, Bishop of Connecticut, recommending the Church of this State to his pastoral regard, until a bishop is elected to preside over it.

The thanks of the Convention were then given to the Rev. Thomas Ellison, for his kind attendance and important services.

Their thanks were also given to the gentlemen from the State of New York, for their brotherly regard in attending this Convention.

After prayers, the Convention adjourned, to meet in St. James' Church, Arlington, on the third Wednesday of

next September; invitations to which are to be sent by the Secretary, and notification made as generally as possible.

Extract from the Minutes.

DANIEL BARBER, *Secretary*.

CIRCULAR LETTER.

Manchester, September , 1791.

SIR,—I take this method of notifying you, that a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State will be holden, in St. James' Church, Arlington, on the third Wednesday of the present month.

If you lay to heart the increase of true religion, and the peace, prosperity, and security of the Protestant Episcopal communion, I have not a doubt but you will exert your best endeavors to have a meeting of the Episcopalians in your town convened, and a delegation sent to the approaching Convention.

No sooner was every obstacle of the union of this State with the other states removed, than the bosoms of the Episcopalians in this quarter glowed with a desire of union with them in ecclesiastical matters also; and a Convention was accordingly held in Sandgate.

It was necessary that the business should be taken up *somewhere*, and it was *there* taken up no farther than was necessary to remove the idea of our being separated from "*the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*," composed of the churches of *twelve* states.

With this I send you the Minutes of the first Convention; and am, Sir, with a sincere wish for your present and eternal happiness, your affectionate servant in CHRIST,

DANIEL BARBER.

PANAMA: Formation of a Parish of the Episcopal Church in the City of Panama, February 13, 1871.

Notice having been given on Sunday, A. M. and P. M., 12th of February, by Rev. Dr. Lee, before the congregation worshipping in the building known as the Protestant Church, of a meeting for the purpose of establishing an Episcopal Church in this city, about forty persons met at the United States Consulate on Monday evening, February 13th.

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Long, United States Consul, who nominated C. Wilthew, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, to the chair, and Mr. P. S. Malcolm as secretary to the meeting.

Mr. Wilthew, on taking the chair, called on Rev. Dr. Lee to open the meeting with prayer, after which the same gentleman was asked to state the object of the meeting. This he did at length, showing the impossibility of securing

a clergyman of any standing in any religious body, to labor in this community, or any other, under prohibition to add to the Communion of his Church, or upon the "*no Church*" plan. It not being adapted to the wants of the people, will always prove a failure. He presented the Communion of the Episcopal Church as being the choice of a large majority of the community, and as being the bond of union between the two great English-speaking nations, and that body which would supply the religious wants of all foreign residents.

Dr. Long endorsed these views, and showed wherein former efforts had failed. He advocated the establishment of schools under the care of the Church.

Mr. H. Schuber approved of the organization of a church upon these views, and advocated it.

Mr. C. Wilthew, the chairman, also stated his hearty endorsement of the article of association for the formation of a church, which Dr. Lee had presented and explained, as follows:

CITY OF PANAMA,
United States of Colombia.

IN THE NAME OF THE EVER BLESSED TRINITY—AMEN.

We, the undersigned, assembled this 13th day of February, A. D. 1871, for the purpose of organizing a Parish of the Episcopal Church in the above City and State, after due notice given, do hereby agree to form a Parish, to be known by the name of "Trinity Church"; and as such do hereby acknowledge and accede to the Doctrines, Discipline, and Worship of the Book of Common Prayer, as set forth by the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. We do hereby also place this Parish under the Spiritual Jurisdiction and Diocesan care of the Bishop of the Falklands, "whose jurisdiction as a Colonial Bishop of the Church of England" includes this Republic in his Missionary Bishopric.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE VESTRY BOOK OF STRATTON MAJOR PARISH,
KING AND QUEEN COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1729-1783.
*Transcribed, Annotated and Indexed by C. G.
Chamberlayne. Published by the Library Board.
Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing.
1931. Pp. 257. \$5.*

OF the forty-eight parish records of the Church in Colonial Virginia known to exist, thirteen have been already printed, and to these the Board of the State Library has now added the records of Stratton Major Parish, and contemplates the publication of others in the near future. The Board has thereby laid all students of history under lasting obligation. When it is remembered that the Virginia vestries had large civil responsibilities, such as the care of the poor, these records become invaluable as a source for the study of social and well as ecclesiastical conditions in colonial times. Stratton Major Parish was established in 1654-5 by the General Assembly. This record begins with the year 1729, prior to which documentary material is fragmentary. From 1729 the record is singularly full and extraordinarily instructive and interesting. Not the least interesting items are the records of expenditures under the direction of the Vestry. Payments were made in tobacco, of which the minister received 16,000 lbs.; the reader of the lower church, 1,200; the sexton, 600. A constantly recurring item is the payment for providing for the Sacrament, four times, for 240 lbs. of tobacco and 100 lbs. for twice washing the surplice. The records of 1760 contain in detail the specifications for building the new church which was to include "a Compleat Altar Piece with black walnut hand rails & Banisters, a Neat Pulpit and Desks." Four years later the Hon^{ble} Rich^d: Corbin Esq^r: was directed to "send home to England for a Communion Table Cloth, a Pulpit Cloth, a Cloth of the Desk, & 2 Surplices for the use of the new Church." The book is beautifully printed and has an adequate index.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

TEXAS GEORGE. *The Life of George Herbert Kinsolving, Bishop of Texas, 1892-1928.* By Arthur B. Kinsolving. With Foreword by Joseph M. Francis, Bishop of Indianapolis. Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee. A. R. Mowbray & Co., London. 1932. Pp. 137. \$2.

THIS is a welcome addition to the lengthening list of biographies of Bishops of the American Church. Texas George was one of four brothers in the ministry of the Church, two of whom were elevated to the episcopate, and the third is the author of this volume. The book is comparatively brief, but quite adequate. The Virginia background of the bishop is admirably sketched, as are also the beginnings of the church in the Republic of Texas. Dr. Kinsolving has painted a very human picture of a man whose large heart measured up to his unusual stature, and who was known and loved by all sorts and conditions of men throughout the length and breadth of the Lone Star State.

CHARLES HENRY BRENT. *Everybody's Bishop.* By Eleanor Slater. With an Introduction by David Lincoln Ferris, D. D., Bishop of Rochester, N. Y. Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee. Pp. 128. \$1.50.

THE biography of Bishop Brent is in process of writing with the prospect of publication in the near future. This little book does not pretend to be a biography. It is a reverent analytical study of the spiritual development of a great soul, and as such is an excellent preparation for the larger work now in hand. Through this printed word one can look into the inner life and experience of a true modern saint and mystic; a lover of God and of his fellow men, and one can feel the glow of the spiritual passion. In the truest sense it is a devotional study and would make excellent reading for Lent.

CHARLES GORE. *A Biographical Sketch by Gordon Crosse. A. R. Mowbray & Co., London and Oxford. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co. Pp. 128. \$1.*

IN small compass the author outlines the leading events in the life and work of Bishop Charles Gore, in his day, the most influential leader in the Church of England. In rapid succession Gore is pictured as the young Oxford Don; at Cuddesdon; as head of Pusey House, Canon of Westminster and Bishop successively of Worcester, Birmingham and Oxford. The sections dealing with him as a "liberal catholic" and founder and leader of the Christian Social Union are particularly well done. The author has etched with great clearness a great figure—gaunt, rugged, but implacably honest.

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES IN PALESTINE 175 B. C.-135 A. D. *By Shailer Mathews. New and Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. 307. \$2.*

THE first edition of this book was published thirty years ago. In the intervening period much water has flowed under the bridge. Large attention has been given to restating the background of the New Testament, and Jewish scholars have made notable contributions. In the light of this added knowledge Dr. Mathews has recast his work. It is based upon the conviction that "Judaism is the religious phase of the struggle of the Jewish people to maintain national and racial integrity." From this point of view Judaism is studied from its antecedents; through its early stages; its conflicts with Hellenism and its religious aspects. There is an illuminating chapter on the "Messianic Hope and Jesus," the key to which is found in the sentence, "Jesus was crucified as a revolutionist." A careful study of this volume will aid much in an understanding of life and thought in our Lord's day.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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No. 2

SAMUEL PROVOOST FIRST BISHOP OF NEW YORK

By E. Clowes Chorley

I.

THE Church had been established in New York one hundred and twenty-three years before she succeeded in obtaining the Episcopate. Save for the last four years of this period the Province was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, who functioned through a Commissary. Appeal after appeal was made to the mother Church of England for a bishop "to visit the several churches, ordain some, confirm others, and bless all," but without success. Powerful political influences, both in the colonies and in England, were opposed to the introduction of Episcopacy in America, and they found an effective ally in the religious apathy of the times. The most effective opposition came from the Puritans. Their attitude was rightly divined by Lord Chatham when he said, "Divided as they are, into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point on which they all agree; they equally detest the pageantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a Bishop." Every effort to break down this opposition failed. The outbreak of the War of the Revolution shelved the question for the time, and the recognition by Great Britain of the Independence of the United States cut off the American Church from the Church of England.

For four years the Church in New York was without an official head. Each parish was a law unto itself, and there was no possibility of enforcing discipline; no one to confirm, or to ordain candidates

for Holy Orders. The same condition prevailed in the Church throughout the United States, save in Connecticut, Bishop Seabury having been consecrated Bishop of that diocese in Scotland in the latter part of 1784.

The first attempt to organize the Church in what was to become the diocese of New York was the convening of a Convention of clergy and laity which met in the city of New York on Wednesday, June 22nd, 1785. There were present five clergymen and eleven laymen, eight parishes being represented. The Rev. Samuel Provoost was elected president. After the election of deputies to the General Convention appointed to meet in Philadelphia in September, the convention adjourned to meet at the call of the President "at such time and place as he shall deem most conducive to the interest of the Church."

At the aforesaid meeting of the General Convention it was determined to request the authorities of the Church of England "to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be chosen and recommended to them for that purpose from the Conventions of this Church in the respective States."* It further resolved "That it be recommended to the said Conventions that they elect persons for this purpose."

In accordance with this recommendation a second Convention of the diocese of New York was held in St. Paul's Chapel, in the city of New York, on Tuesday, May 16, 1786. Seven parishes were represented. After receiving the reports of the General Convention the session was adjourned to the second Tuesday in June. The record of the following day runs: "In compliance with the directions of the General Convention, *Resolved*, That the Reverend Mr. Provoost be recommended for Episcopal consecration."†

Samuel Provoost came of an old Huguenot family which migrated to New Amsterdam in 1642. The son of John Provoost and Eve Rutgers, he was born in New York City on February 26, 1742, and was baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church by Dominie Du Bois. After passing through school he entered King's College, then housed in a frame building in the yard of Trinity Church. He graduated at the first Commencement of 1758, the youngest of the class; likewise the head. It was the custom in that day for men of position in New York to send their sons to one of the English universities, and in 1761 young Provoost sailed for England and entered as a Fellow Commoner at Peterhouse College, Cambridge. There he attained distinction as a linguist. To an accurate knowledge of Hebrew,

**Journals of the General Convention, (Perry's edition), 1785, p. 25.*

†*Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of New York, 1786, p. 9.*

Greek and Latin, he added French and Italian. In April, 1765, he writes his father, "I can get my degree and Commendamus here whenever I please; nothing but being too young for Orders could prevent my returning home next summer."

From this letter it is evident that, though baptized in the Dutch church, he had determined to enter the Anglican ministry. It is not difficult to determine some of the influences which led him to this conclusion. King's was a Church college, and the President, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, was one of the group of Yale men whose adherence to Episcopacy shook New England puritanism to its very foundations. Cambridge was predominantly Anglican, and in Provoost's youth there was in New York in the Dutch church a decided drift to the Church of England.

So Samuel Provoost was ordered Deacon in the Chapel Royal of St. James' Palace, London, on February 23rd, 1766, by Richard Terrick, Bishop of London. He was advanced to the priesthood on Palm Sunday, March 23rd, by Edmund Kean, Bishop of Chester, in King's Chapel, Whitehall. His marriage followed almost immediately. On June 8th, he was married in St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, to Maria, daughter of Thomas Bousefield, an Irish landowner and banker, and the sister of his friend and fellow-student at Peterhouse. He returned with his bride to New York in the autumn of 1766.

On December 23rd of that year Mr. Provoost was appointed one of the Assistant Ministers in Trinity Parish, New York, "to officiate in his turn at the several churches on the Lord's Day and at Prayers on Week Days when requested by the Rector." His stipend was fixed at £200 per annum. At that time Trinity was the only parish in the city, having two Chapels—St. George's, in Beekman Street, and St. Paul's, which had just been opened for divine service. The rector of the parish was the Rev. Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, and the other two Assistant ministers were the Rev. Dr. John Ogilvie and the Rev. Charles Inglis.

In 1769 Mr. Provoost obtained an extended leave of absence to visit England on private business. On resumption of his work in Trinity parish he encountered difficulties which eventually resulted in his retirement from active ministerial service for a term of years. The difficulties were partly theological and partly political.

From contemporary sources it may be gathered that Mr. Provoost was not an attractive preacher. President Duer, who knew him well, says,

"He read the noble Liturgy of his Church with critical accuracy without impairing the devotional spirit it is so well

calculated to excite. As a preacher he was not so happy. Although his enunciation was distinct as well as forcible, yet his sermons were delivered so emphatically—*ore rotundo*, that the exertion this induced, together with his plethoric habit, rendered the public services of the Church tedious and laborious to himself and to his hearers. But it is by no means certain that these circumstances did not tend to the improvement of his sermons by rendering them shorter.”*

Provoost's theology was typical of the Anglican theology of the day, distinguished for anything but warmth. The unpardonable sin was to display anything suggesting fervor. Enthusiasm was dreaded quite as much as sin. Mr. George Rapelye, one of his contemporaries, said of him, “He did not belong to the straitest sect of theologians, nor was his religion characterized by any great fervor; both his theology and his standard of Christian character were probably about the same as generally prevailed in the Established Church of England at that day.”†

His fear of anything like religious enthusiasm was accentuated by the fact that it was obviously manifesting itself in certain religious circles in New York. Near by Trinity Church was the little John Street Methodist Chapel, which had been started by a group of Irish emigrants. Three years after his ordination the first itinerant Methodist ministers arrived in the United States and one of them was stationed in New York. The fiery preaching of Francis Asbury started a revival in the city which recalled the best days of John Wesley. Fuel was added to the flame by the advent in New York of George Whitefield, whose flaming evangelism aroused what became perilously near religious frenzy.

Provoost was so alarmed that he went to the other extreme, and thereby alienated some of his hearers. In a letter written about this time he says,

“I should think my situation perfectly agreeable, if it were not for the bigotry and enthusiasm that generally prevail here among people of all denominations. Even the Church, particularly the lower members of it, is not free from the general infection. As I found this to be the case, I made it a point to preach the plain doctrine of religion and morality in the manner I found them enforced by the most eminent divines of the Church of England. This brought an accusation against me by those people that I was endeavoring to sap the foundations of Christianity, which they imagined to consist in the doctrines of absolute predestination and reprobation, placing such unbounded confidence in the merits of Christ as to think their own en-

*Duer. *Reminiscences of an Old New Yorker*, p. 16.

†Sprague. *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V., p. 244.

deavours quite unnecessary, and not the least available to salvation; and consigning to everlasting destruction all who happen to differ from them in the most trivial Matters. I was, however, happy enough to be supported by many of the principal persons in New York.”*

The difficulty was enhanced by Mr. Provoost’s political views, of which he made no secret. He was an ardent Whig, while his clerical colleagues and many of the leading laymen of the parish were devoted loyalists. Long before the War of the Revolution the movement which resulted in the Declaration of Independence was quietly gathering momentum, and Mr. Provoost gave it his unreserved support both in public and in private. Preaching in the pulpit of Trinity Church on one occasion, he said,

“We are fighting for our laws and for our liberties, for our friends, families and country. May the guilty be prevailed upon to repent of their sins, and the righteous persevere in their integrity. May He grant understanding to our counsellors and teach our senators wisdom. May He inspire with steadiness and unanimity, with conduct and bravery our fleets and armies, and may the blessing of heaven attend us in all our just and lawful undertakings, and finally, may we be favoured in due time with a safe, honourable and advantageous and lasting peace and tranquillity. Then will our trade revive and flourish, our fields yield their increase, and there will be no complaining in our streets; then will the divine protection be the glory of our land, and upon that glory there will be a defence.”†

Such plain speaking aroused hostility. In October, 1769, a motion was made in the Vestry of the parish to dispense with the services of Mr. Provoost, the ostensible reason recorded being “the insufficiency of the Corporation funds to support him.” At the next meeting the Vestry temporised and resolved “That Mr. Provoost be continued, and paid by what can be raised by subscription only,” and a committee was appointed to collect the subscriptions. The expedient was foredoomed to failure. The committee found that while some members of the parish were willing to contribute to Mr. Provoost’s support, others would cancel their subscriptions for the stipends of the other two Assistant Ministers if Provoost remained. The committee therefore reported that “they were discouraged from prosecuting said subscriptions.” Frankly recognizing the situation, Mr. Provoost resigned on May 21, 1771, and retired to the country.

**Dix. History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York, Vol. ii., p. 36.*

†*MSS. Sermon.*

He settled on a small estate at East Camp, in Dutchess County, where he had for near neighbors Walter and Robert C. Livingston, both of whom had been fellow students at Cambridge. He usually addressed his letters from "Camp, Manor of Livingston."

There he remained for fourteen years, farming for a living, and botanizing and reading for recreation. His letters bear witness to extensive reading. Writing to his brother-in-law, Benjamin Bousefield, he says, "I received with pleasure the books you sent me by Captain Lawrence. They afford me the most agreeable amusement in my country retirement. Dalrymple has set the period he treats of in a clearer light than any person before him and made some most interesting discoveries unknown to previous historians. Lord Chesterfield had always the character of one of the politest writers and best-bred persons of the age. His letters show him, at the same time, the tenderest of fathers and most amiable of men." At East Camp Provoost pursued his favorite study of Botany and compiled an exhaustive index to Banshin's *Historia Plantarum*, in addition to translating some of his favorite hymns into German, French and Latin.

The statement, that during his retirement, Mr. Provoost "when souls were famishing and perishing for the bread of life, could find it in his heart to spend his days and years in study, withdrawn from all ministerial duty, at his country seat on the Hudson" is both unfortunate and unjust; the more so because it has been extensively reproduced. It should be remembered that the opportunities to officiate in the services of the Church were very limited at that time. Prior to 1774 there were but three Episcopal churches in Dutchess County—Trinity, Fishkill; St. Philip's Chapel, in the Highlands, and Christ Church, Poughkeepsie. Of these, St. Philip's was closed during the War, and in 1776 Trinity was in "a delapidated and neglected condition, unfit for use." When the Provincial Convention met within its walls it was without seats or benches, and fouled by doves.* There is full proof that Mr. Provoost officiated as opportunity offered. On Christmas Day, 1774, he preached the sermon on the occasion of the opening of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, taking as his text, Luke VII, 5: "For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue."† Other records show that he preached at Albany, Cattskill and Hudson, and he himself writes, "I lately performed the funeral ceremony over the Judge's father and the eldest daughter of Colonel Peter Livingston, a very amiable girl about fifteen years old."

The fourteen years at East Camp were, for the most part, years of straitened circumstances. So long as the British were in possession

*Ladd. *Founding of the Church in Dutchess County*, p. 25.

†Reynolds. *Records of Christ Church*, p. 45-6.

of New York City his property there was in the hands of the enemy. In his correspondence he speaks from time to time of being "pestered for money." In a letter to a trusted friend he writes,

"I have no salary or income of any kind; the estate which formerly supported me having been in the hands of the enemy ever since they took possession of New York. The place on which I live is so far from maintaining my family, that I am now in debt for the greatest part of the wheat they have consumed since the beginning of the war. Besides selling part of my furniture, &c., and running in debt for various necessities, I have, from time to time, borrowed money of my friends to considerable amount. My mother and family are refugees from the city, and nearly in the same situation with myself; and I am prevented by the constitution of the State, and canons of the Church, from entering into any secular employment."*

He nevertheless stedfastly refused any preferment either in the Church or the State. His political friends did not forget him in his retirement, and many attempts were made to enlist his active service in the patriotic cause. His name headed the list of delegates to the Provincial Congress, but he declined to serve, and he likewise declined the invitation to preach before the Convention of 1776, though he took occasion to express his conviction of "the justice of the cause." The following year he was elected chaplain of the first Constitutional Convention of the State of New York, which met at Kingston. The records show that "Mr. Provoost, for sundry reasons, is under the necessity of declining the honour of serving as Chaplain to the Convention." The "sundry reasons" are set forth in a letter printed in Norton's *Life*: he writes,

"In the beginning of the present war, when each province was endeavouring to unite the more effectually to oppose the tyranny of the British court, I remarked with great concern, that all the Church clergy in these northern States, who received salaries from the society, or emoluments from England, were unanimous in opposing the salutary measures of a vast majority of their countrymen; so great a harmony among the people in their particular circumstances pretty clearly convinced me that some, at least, were biassed by interested motives. As I entertained political opinions diametrically opposite to those of my brethren, I was apprehensive that a profession of these opinions might be imputed to mercenary views, and an ungenerous desire of rising on their ruin. To obviate any suspicions of this kind, I formed a resolution never to accept of any preferment during the present contest; although as a private person I have

*Norton. *Life of Bishop Provoost of New York*, p. 44-5.

been, and shall always be, ready to encounter any danger that may be incurred in the defence of our invaluable rights and liberties."*

This was no empty boast. Though refusing all positions of profit, Mr. Provoost spared no effort to advance the cause of liberty. He wrote the prayers used at the Convention of 1776, and once placed himself at the head of a party of armed men to repulse a threatened attack on his property by British soldiers.

The same policy was pursued in reference to preferment in the Church. In 1777 it was reported to the Vestry of St. Michael's Church, Charleston, South Carolina, that "a Mr. Provoost would come out on proper application," he was called to be rector of that historic parish. In declining the invitation he wrote,

"Sir,

I embrace the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your polite and obliging letter and to give you as candidly as I can my principal reason for declining the very advantageous offer that you hold out to me. In the beginning of our present disputes when each province was endeavouring to unite the better to oppose the Tyranny of the British court I remark'd with great concern that all the clergymen of the Church in these northern states who received salaries from the Society,† or any emolument from England, were unanimous in opposing the measures of a vast majority of their countrymen, so great a harmony amongst people in their particular circumstances pretty clearly evinced that some at least were biass'd by interested views. As I had no pecuniary connection with old England, and entertained political opinions quite opposite to the rest of my Brethren, I was apprehensive that a profession of these opinions might be imputed to mercenary motives, and an ungenerous desire of rising upon their ruin. To obviate any suspicions of this kind *I formed a resolution never to accept* of any preferment during the present contest, though as a private person I have been and shall always be ready to encounter any danger that may be incurred in defence of our rights and liberties.

In consequence of this resolution I lately refused (when apply'd to by the Convention) being appointed Chaplain to this State, and now must return a negative to the application of the Vestry of St. Michael's though with the greatest reluctance. From the general character of the People and other circumstances there is no part of America in which I promise myself greater happiness than South Carolina. It may perhaps be weakness in me to sacrifice my interest thro' fear of undeserved censure, but it is a weakness I find my-

*Norton, p. 43-44.

†Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

self incapable of overcoming, and I shall think myself happier to live with studious economy on a trifling fortune than to accept of any preferment which I might be thought to have acquired by any low design or artificial conduct.

If we are blessed with success in this war, as there is the greatest reason to think we shall be, I am confident that America will be supplied with Clergymen from England, who will be an honour to the Church in this country. I can't help giving a paragraph from the letter of a gentleman of singular merit and eminence in the University of Cambridge dated so long ago as August 21, 1774.

"Perhaps," he says, "your sentiments and mine do not intirely agree with respect to American affairs, whatever yours be, I have no doubt they are the result of conviction, mine have long been intirely on the side of Liberty, and it is with Horror that I look upon all the proceedings of this country from ye stamp act to the conclusion of the scheme so clearly to my Apprehension manifested in the infamous Quebec bill. I carry the affair still further, as a well wisher to this Island I hope that unanimity and resolution blended with calm discretion may attend the counsels of ensuing congress, and if force be attempted that success may attend the struggles of men contending for their most valuable rights. The eyes of men seem now to be opening a little in this country, the Bishop of St. Asaph's Discourses and a little tract addressed to Protestant dissenters, the second part of which treats of American affairs, have conduced much to enlarge our idea upon this subject . . . the Bishop of Carlyle is well and a friend to Liberty."

I hope what I have said may prove satisfactory to the gentlemen of St. Michael's whose kind intentions have impressed upon me the warmest sentiments of gratitude.

I shall always be happy to acknowledge how much I am

Dr Sir your most obliged

and very himble servant

To George Abbott Hall Esqre."*

For the same impelling reason Dr. Provoost declined a call to King's Chapel, Boston, in 1782.

During these years of retirement at East Camp Provoost's old parish of Trinity Church passed through fire and water before it emerged into the wealthy place. During the American occupation of New York city the parish church and its two Chapels of St. George's and St. Paul's were closed for three months. Dr. Ogilvie's death in 1774 was shortly followed by that of the Rector, Dr. Auchmuty. In the great fire of 1776 Trinity Church was left in ruins, and Dr.

**The draft of this letter appears on the last page of one of Dr. Provoost's manuscript sermons, it being his custom to use the blank pages at the end of his sermons for all kinds of memoranda. This particular letter is drafted at the end of a sermon dated August 2, 1767.*

Inglis, who had succeeded to the rectorship, was attainted for treason and left the country. On November 25th, 1783, the British troops evacuated New York and Washington entered in triumph.

The Rev. Benjamin Moore was elected rector of Trinity, but his tenure was short. The "Whig Episcopalians," who were now in the saddle, were determined that so important a position should be filled by one who sympathized with their political views, and their thoughts turned at once to Mr. Provoost. Under date of December 3, 1783, a friend wrote him saying,

"I have to congratulate you most cordially on the happy alteration of affairs here. General Washington, with the American army, entered last Tuesday amid the joyful acclamation of thousands, with such decorum that no riot or disturbance ensued, as was expected. The tories who stayed behind on the Embarkation of the British remained quiet within their dwellings, and are still unmolested. You have a strong party here who will spare no exertions for you. They even talk of making you Bishop of New York, on the same footing that the Rev. Mr. Smith has lately been appointed Bishop of Maryland. This is the universal topic. In short, I am as sure something very handsome will be done for you, as I am of my own existence. There is to be a public meeting of the Whig Episcopalians this evening by notification. It is generally imagined that your name will be mentioned in their debates."*

The writer was a true prophet. On the 2nd of February, 1784, Mr. Provoost returned to New York. Three days later the Vestry of Trinity parish notified Benjamin Moore that "The Reverend Mr. Provoost had been pleased, in compliance with our invitation, to take charge of the Episcopal Churches in this City, and we have delivered him the keys."† In this unconventional manner Samuel Provoost became rector of Trinity parish. The following Sunday morning he preached from the words, "Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," and he began his sermon thus: "So long a time has elapsed since I have had the opportunity of exercising this part of my profession, that I really rise with the greatest diffidence to speak before so respectable an audience." In his sketch of Bishop Provoost written by the late General Grant Wilson, the following reference is made to this historic occasion: "It happens that the joyous event was described to the writer in his youth by a venerable and ardent patriot who was present, and who said, 'It was a glorious occasion, and many friends of their country met that day for the first

*Norton. *Life of Bp. Provoost*, p. 47-8.

†Dix. *History of Trinity Parish*, Vol. II., p. 17.

time in years. There were no rascally Tories present that morning.' ""* The year of Mr. Provoost's return to active ministerial service was a critical one for the American Church. Civil and ecclesiastical Independence went hand in hand. Reconstruction was as necessary for the Church as it was for the State, and for both the task was difficult and delicate. The Church was without bishops and the mere mention of corporate action aroused sharp suspicion. Connecticut acted quite independently in choosing a bishop, as did Maryland. Such conditions were fraught with grave danger. Advantage was therefore taken of a meeting held at New Brunswick to informally discuss the future organization of the Church. Mr. Provoost was not present, but he did attend a further meeting held in New York, and was a member of the committee appointed to draft a Constitution. The ultimate outcome was the creation of the General Convention.

The action of that Convention in applying to the Church of England for the consecration of bishops for America and recommending the Church in the various States to select such persons, has already been set forth. Certain difficulties were cleared away and an act of Parliament was passed authorizing the Archbishops to proceed to the desired consecrations.

At a meeting of the Convention of the diocese of New York held on September 20th, 1786, "A certificate, recommending the Reverend Doctor Provoost for Episcopal consecration, was signed by all the members present."† Pennsylvania had selected Dr. William White for its bishop just seven days before, and Virginia had chosen the Rev. Dr. Griffith. At an adjourned meeting of the General Convention held at Wilmington, Del., in 1786, the testimonials of these gentlemen were signed in the form directed by the English Archbishops.

The diocese of Virginia was too poor or too indifferent to defray the cost of Dr. Griffith's journey to England, but White and Provoost sailed on the British Packet, *Prince William Henry* on November 2nd, and landed at Falmouth just eighteen days later. Immediately proceeding to London, their arrival was chronicled in one of the London papers: "The Rev. Dr. Provoost and Dr. White arrived here a few days ago and have taken lodgings in Parliament Street, where they are visited daily by persons of the first rank and respectability." On their arrival in London they were presented to John Moore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, by John Adams, the American minister to the Court of St. James. The Archbishop expressed himself as satisfied with the testimonials, but some delay occurred while the mode of consecration was under discussion. While awaiting the event Dr. Provoost wrote his wife saying,

**Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, p. 134.

†*Journal of Convention*, p. 11.

"The English papers have been premature in announcing our consecration. I expected we should have been the subject of frequent witticisms, but the following paragraph, which appeared in the *Herald*, is the only one I have met with:

'The ordination of the two American Bishops is an event concerning which the universities have formed strange conjectures. These new Right Reverends will, in the American device, restore the primitive fathers, and distinguish themselves with stripes.'""*

The bishops-elect were presented to George III, who received them very graciously.

Many legal formalities had to be observed, for the government was extremely sensitive to American opinion. Finally the royal license was issued on January 25th, 1787, and the consecration set for the fourth of February. Two days before one of the London papers said,

"We are informed that the ceremony of consecrating the American Bishops will be privately performed at Lambeth next Sunday, after which they purpose immediately to set off for America to communicate the sacred effect of it to their brethren, that in future they may have no occasion to go so far from home to kindle their Episcopal torch."

The memorable service was held on Septuagesima Sunday, February 4th, in the private Chapel of Lambeth Palace. The consecrators were John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury; William Markham, Archbishop of York; Charles Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and John Hinchcliff, Bishop of Peterborough. London was strangely indifferent to the event. There were present the family of the Archbishop, together with members of his household, and the presence of the Rev. Dr. Jacob Duche, formerly rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, was especially noted. The Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, one time rector of Trinity Church, New York, and then a refugee in London, was detained by illness. Bishop White preserved an interesting account of the service. He wrote,

"Dr. Drake, one of the Archbishop's chaplains, preached; and Dr. Randolph, the other chaplain, read the prayers. The sermon was a sensible discussion of the long litigated subject of the authority of the Church to ordain rites and ceremonies. The text was, 'Let all things be done decently and in order.'—I Cor. xiv, 40. The discourse had very little reference to the peculiarity of the occasion. The truth was, as the Archbishop had told us on Friday, on our way to

*Norton. *Life*, p. 66.

the Court, that he had spoken to a particular friend to compose a sermon for the occasion and had given him a sketch of what he wished to be the scope of it. This friend had just sent him information of a domestic calamity, which would excuse him from attendance; and the Archbishop was under the necessity of giving short notice to one of his chaplains."*

It is interesting to note that Dr. Provoost seems to have made more of an impression on the London public than Dr. White. *The Daily Advertiser* said:

"By letters from America we are informed that Dr. Provoost, one of the newly consecrated American Bishops, is the most dignified clergyman in that country, being Chaplain to Congress, and rector of Trinity Church, New York, by far the most respectable living in the United States. This gentleman received his education at the University of Cambridge, was ordained in London 20 years ago, and is esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of his profession."

In contrast there may be quoted a paragraph from *The New York Packet* from its London correspondent:

"The American bishops do not take the style and title of Lord, or Lordship. According to their own request, they are directed to as Right Rev. Doctor, Bishop of &c., and addressed in the same style; neither have they yet submitted to the old hackneyed term, Father in God. Episcopacy is admitted in America, but it is simplified according to the original intention as much as possible."

The newly consecrated bishops sailed from Falmouth on February 15th. The passage was stormy, and at times perilous. Bishop Provoost was gravely ill, and for some days his life was in danger. After a voyage of fifty days they were brought to the haven where they would be and landed in New York just as the church bells called the faithful to the joyous services of Easter Day.

With the consecration of White and Provoost the American church had three bishops, the traditional number necessary to transmit the succession. The situation, however, was not free from difficulty. Many doubted the wisdom of the Scotch consecration of Seabury; others—and among them Provoost—questioned its validity. Doubtless due to his influence, the Deputies from the diocese of New York to the second General Convention were "instructed not to consent to any act that may imply the validity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations."† Naturally, this was resented by Bishop Seabury, and he

*White. *Memoirs of the Church*, p. 157.

†*Journal of Convention*, 1786, p. 9.

absented himself from the General Convention until it was finally and generously settled.

Nor was this the only difficulty in the way of corporate union. From the outset the General Convention recognized the principle of equal lay representation in the councils of the Church. This principle was not acceptable either to the Connecticut clergy or to their bishop, with the result that Connecticut was not represented in the early General Conventions. Bishop White acted as mediator and effected a reconciliation between Provoost and Seabury. Three months after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the General Convention convened in Philadelphia. White was the only bishop in attendance, Provoost being "detained by illness." The way for Seabury's return was paved by the passage of a resolution by the Convention that "the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the Episcopal office is valid." Adjournment was taken to September 29th, at which time Bishop Seabury appeared and "produced his Letters of Consecration to the holy office of a Bishop in this Church."* They were read and duly recorded. As a result of conference Connecticut yielded on lay representation, and won for the Bishops the right to originate legislation and the power of veto. The Constitution was adopted and the American Book of Common Prayer authorized. This done, Bishop Seabury and the New England deputies signed the Constitution and "took their seats as members of the Convention." Thus equipped, the Church turned to the task of strengthening her cords and lengthening her stakes.

The first diocesan convention over which Dr. Provoost presided as bishop was held in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, on November 6, 1787. There were present six clerical and twenty lay delegates. The diocese had then no constitution, no canons and no Rules of Order. Hence it gravely proceeded to elect its own bishop as presiding officer. The record then runs, "The Right Rev. Bishop Provoost communicated to the Convention testimonials of his consecration, from his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, which were read."† On the third day a welcome was accorded the bishop, which, though somewhat belated, was carried out with a degree of formality. The members of the Convention proceeded to the bishop's house, and escorted him to the Chapel. The procession moved in this order:

The Charity Scholars
Members of the Church
Gentlemen of the Vestry of Trinity Church

**Journal of General Convention*, (Perry edition), p. 93.

†*Journal*, p. 14.

Lay delegates of the Convention
The Bishop and clergy.

Arrived at St. Paul's, an anthem was sung by the Charity Scholars. After Morning Prayer—so the Journal runs—"the Convention assembled in the front of the desk, and the Secretary, in their name addressed the Bishop as follows:—

Right Reverend Sir,

We, the Clergy and Laity, representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church, now assembled in Convention, beg leave to address you on this solemn occasion, with sentiments of duty and unfeigned respect. After having successfully accomplished the great object which you had in view, we congratulate you on your return to your native city, safe from the hazards of a long and tempestuous voyage, and in a great measure restored to health from a painful and dangerous illness.

While we express in terms of warmest gratitude, the high obligations we are under to the English Bishops for their paternal interposition in our favour, we beg leave to present to you our hearty thanks for your compliance with our desires; and thus through many difficulties and sufferings, rendering our Church complete in all its parts.

This propitious event, so long and ardently wished for, forms an important era in the history of our Church. We are now by Divine Providence placed in such a situation, that a regular succession of the ministry may be continued to us and our posterity, without being reduced to the necessity of applying to a distant land.

Justly reposing the highest confidence in your integrity and piety, your love of peace and order, and in your unremitting endeavours for the advancement of true religion and virtue, we rejoice that the distinguished honour of filling one of the first Episcopal chairs in these United States, hath been conferred on a character so truly estimable; and we trust, that we, and those whom we represent, shall never fail to render you all due support, respect, and reverence.

May it graciously please the Almighty Ruler of the universe, so to bless your ministrations, that a firm foundation may be laid for the peace and prosperity of our Church, which shall remain unshaken to the latest ages. And may you, Right Reverend Sir, long continue in the discharge of your sacred office, an example for our imitation, and an ornament to our holy religion; and may we, and all those committed to your pastoral charge, derive from your ministrations a benefit which will be of everlasting duration: so that when we are called to answer for our actions, we may give an account with joy; and remain ever one flock, under one shepherd *Jesus Christ*, the Bishop of our souls."

To this Address Bishop Provoost replied as follows:

Reverend and Most Dearly Beloved,

This affectionate address, your obliging congratulations on my return to my native city, and on the recovery of my health, and above all your assurances of support in my ministrations, I receive with the utmost satisfaction and thankfulness.

The object of my late mission being the independence of our Church, and a regular succession of the ministry, was of such magnitude, that its happy accomplishment cannot fail of inspiring all its members with the highest gratitude to Almighty God, and to all who under Him, have by their good offices contributed to its success. To the English Bishops particularly, we are under indelible obligations, and I cordially unite with you in a public testimony of their benevolent and paternal exertions in our favour. Whenever we shall reflect on this important era in the history of our Church, they must be remembered with honour and reverence.

Let us, my beloved friends, zealously strive to make due improvement of the spiritual privileges which we now enjoy. Let our faith be sincere, and our lives unblemished, as our doctrine and worship are pure and holy, and GOD will continue to shower down His blessings upon us and our Church, with a bountiful hand."

"May you, my Reverend Brethren, aided by His gracious Spirit, continue to be watchful shepherds of the flocks committed to your charge, and maintain the doctrines and discipline of this excellent Church, with constancy and zeal; and at the same time with candour towards those who differ from us in religious opinions, that our moderation may be made manifest, and we may joyfully contribute to that peace, and love, and charity, which are so strongly enforced in the Gospel of our blessed Redeemer.

Deeply sensible of my own imperfections, I feel with solicitude the weight of the important office to which I am consecrated. I rely on the grace of GOD, to enable me to discharge my pastoral duties with fidelity, to be instrumental in promoting true religion and virtue, in governing this Church in peace and unanimity, and laying a sure foundation for its lasting prosperity; that thus, through His divine protection, your expectation of my usefulness, may not be disappointed.

And, now unto GOD's gracious mercy and protection I commit you; the Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord make His face to shine upon you, the Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace both now and evermore."*

After this happy interlude the Convention completed its adoption

**Journal of Diocesan Convention, 1787, p. 17ff.*

of a Constitution and Canons. Among the noteworthy acts was the election of a Standing Committee "to advise with the Bishop in all matters in which he may think proper to consult them."*

Provoost entered upon his episcopate in the day of small things. The diocese embraced the entire State. The number of clergy was lamentably small. The first official "Register of the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York" appears in the Diocesan Journal of 1791. It reads as follows:

"The Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of New York, and Rector of Trinity Church, in the City of New York, ordained Deacon, by the Bishop of London, on the 23rd of February, 1766. Ordained Priest, by the Bishop of Chester, on the 25th day of March, 1766; and consecrated Bishop, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on 4th day of February, 1787.

Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, D. D., ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Llandaff, on the 5th day of June, 1748. Ordained Priest, by the Bishop of Winchester, on the 19th day of June, 1748.

Rev. Abraham Beach, D. D., Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, in the City of New York, ordained Deacon, by the Bishop of Llandaff, on the 17th day of May, 1767. Ordained Priest, by the Bishop of London, on the 14th of June, 1767.

Rev. Benjamin Moore, D. D., Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, in the City of New York, ordained Deacon, by the Bishop of London, on the 24th day of June, 1774. Ordained Priest, by the same Bishop, on the 29th day of June, 1774.

Rev. Thomas L. Moore, A. M., Rector of St. George's Church, South Hempstead, ordained Deacon, by the Bishop of London, on the 24th day of September, 1781. Ordained Priest, by the Bishop of Chester, on the 24th day of February, 1782.

Rev. Thomas Ellison, A. M., Rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, ordained Deacon, by the Archbishop of York, on the 7th of July, 1782. Ordained Priest, by the Bishop of Durham, on the 19th day of September, 1784.

The Rev. Richard C. Moore, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Staten Island, ordained Deacon, by the Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, on the 15th day of July; and Priest, on the 22nd day of October, 1787.

Rev. Daniel Foote, A. M., Rector of the United Episcopal Churches at Rye and White Plains, ordained Deacon, by the Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Connecticut, on the 11th day of June; and Priest, on the 22nd day of October, 1788.

**Journal of Diocesan Convention, 1787, p. 17.*

Rev. George H. Spierin, A. M., Rector of the United Churches of Newburgh and Wallkill, ordained both Deacon and Priest, by Bishop Provoost, in the month of July, 1788.

Rev. Elias Cooper, Rector of the Church at Philipsburgh, ordained Deacon, by Bishop Provoost, in the month of June; and Priest, on the 11th day of the same month, 1790.

Rev. Andrew Fowler, Rector of the Church at Oyster Bay, ordained Deacon, by Bishop Provoost, in the month of June, 1789; and Priest, on the 11th day of the same month, 1790.

The Rev. Theodosius Bartow, Rector of the Church at New Rochelle, ordained Deacon, by Bishop Provoost, on the 27th day of January; and Priest, on the 19th day of October, 1790.

Rev. William Hammel, Rector of the United Churches at Jamaica, Newtown and Flushing, ordained Deacon, by Bishop Provoost, on the 27th day of January; and Priest, on the 19th day of October, 1790.

Rev. Elijah D. Rattoone, A. B., Minister of the Church at Brooklyn, ordained Deacon, by Bishop Provoost, on the 10th day of January, 1790.

Rev. Thomas F. Oliver, A. M., Rector of the United Churches at Johnstown and Fort Hunter, ordained Deacon and Priest, by Bishop Seabury.

The aforesaid fifteen men, including the bishop, made up the clergy of the diocese more than three years after the consecration of Provoost. Of the fifteen, six had received ordination in England. In addition to these, the official list adds the following:

Rev. Mr. Bostwick, of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, officiates every third Sunday in the City of Hudson.

Rev. James Nicholls, of Sandgate, Vermont, officiates every third Sunday at Camden.

Rev. Daniel Barber, of Manchester, Vermont, officiates every third Sunday at Kingsbury.

Going back to 1787 when Provoost became bishop, there were two Episcopal churches open for worship in the city of New York: St. George's Chapel, in Beekman Street, and St. Paul's Chapel. The mother church of Trinity was a blackened ruin. Brooklyn had one church, St. Ann's; St. Andrew's was the only parish on Staten Island. On Long Island, Jamaica, Newtown and Flushing, were served by one minister, and the churches at Huntington, Brookhaven and Oyster Bay were cared for by a lay reader. Many of the older parishes outside the city were partially recovering from the effects of the War of the Revolution. Rye was re-organized in 1787; Bedford, the year before. North Salem resumed in 1792, and the same year the churches at Courtlandtown (Peekskill) and Philipstown (Garrison) were re-

opened. There were two parishes in Ulster County; two in active operation in Orange County; two or three in Dutchess; one at Hudson, in Columbia County, and one in Albany. North of Albany there were churches at Schenectady, Johnstown, Camden, Milton, Stillwater, New Stamford and Otsego. Beyond there stretched desert wastes. There were but few additions to the list of parishes during the Provoost administration. In the city of New York Trinity church was rebuilt and opened in 1788; Christ Church, Ann Street, was erected in 1793, and St. Mark's in the Bowrie, was added in 1799. Outside the city the churches at Ballstown and Duanesburgh were consecrated in 1793, and a church at Beekmantown was opened about the same time. Three years later four new parishes were admitted into union with the Convention—Stillwater, Milton, Waterford and New Stamford. Not until 1804 do parochial reports appear in the Journal, and prior to that time no formal report of official acts was made by the bishop. Unfortunately, the private Journal of Bishop Provoost has disappeared, and we are dependent upon casual mention made to the Convention.

At the second Convention of 1787 it is recorded that

"The Right Rev. Dr. Provoost expressed his satisfaction to the Convention, on account of the increasing state of the Church, and informed them, That he had ordained several persons—That he had lately made a visitation of several churches on Long Island, for the purposes of Confirmation; and hoped that the other churches here represented would be equally prepared for the reception of that sacred rite, as he intended to visit them next spring."*

The following year he

"Expressed his satisfaction to the Convention, upon the prospect of the increasing prosperity of the Church in this State:—informed them that he had ordained several persons in the course of the last year:—that he had hitherto been prevented, by a multiplicity of other business, from visiting the congregations in distant parts of the State; but hoped that he should be able, before the next Convention, to carry his intention, with respect to the visitation of his diocese, into complete execution."†

The next mention is in 1791, when

"The Convention received notice from the Bishop, that since their last meeting, he had ordained the Rev. Mr.

**Journal, 1787, p. 24.*

†*Journal, 1788, p. 28.*

Barber—that the Rev. Mr. Foote, the Rev. Mr. Oliver, and the Rev. Mr. Blakesly, were added to the number of the Clergy; and expressed his satisfaction upon the increasing prosperity of the Church in the northern part of the State.”*

The following year he records the consecration of the Right Rev. Thomas J. Claggett, as Bishop of Maryland,† and the ordination of Mr. Harris, Mr. Ireland, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Jackson Sands, and Mr. Ammi Rogers, (the two last now settled in this State) and the consecration of the church at Philipsburgh (Yonkers).‡ In 1793 mention is made of the consecration of a church at Duaneburgh, “erected solely by Judge Duane, at the expense of upwards of eight hundred pounds.”**

The Journal adds,

“Bishop Provoost further informed the Convention, that he had consecrated a church at Ballston, and that he had there confirmed upwards of two hundred, and administered the Communion to above ninety persons, and was greatly pleased with the rapid growth and extension of that church. That he had also visited Poughkeepsie, and found that in the church of that place there had lately been an accession of some very valuable members.”††

There is no record of a Convention in 1795; no recorded report for 1796 and 1797, and for the three following years the Convention did not meet.

In spite of the meagerness of the official reports, contemporary sources bear striking witness to the extraordinary public interest in the services of Confirmation and Ordination. Writing in *The Gospel Messenger* in 1856, Bishop De Lancey said,

“In a recent Episcopal tour in Courtland county, in this diocese, I met, at the house of her son, Dr. R. C. Owen, the warden of Calvary Church, Homer, Mrs. Mary Owen, the widow of Dr. J. Owen, a native of the city of New York, born in 1774, whose maiden name was Mary Bell. She gave me an account, as an eye-witness, of the administration of the holy rite. She was then about fourteen years of age. His (Bishop Provoost) first Confirmation was held in St. Paul’s Chapel—Trinity Church was then in ashes. More than three hundred persons were confirmed. The candidates occupied the body of the church below. The congregation were in the galleries. The Bishop addressed the candidates

**Journal*, 1791, p. 42.

†*The first consecration of an American Bishop in the United States.*

‡*Journal*, 1792, p. 60.

***Journal*, 1793, p. 67-8.

††*Journal*, 1793, p. 68.

from the pulpit before the Confirmation. Many aged persons were confirmed, some of them more than ninety years of age. She distinctly recollects two aged ladies led up to the altar by their coloured servants, who stood aside until the rite was performed, and then led their mistresses back to their pews. The Bishop was in his Episcopal robes. Among the clergy present, she recollects the Rev. Benjamin Moore, the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, and the Rev. Mr. Pilmore (Pilbury, she thought the name was). She does not distinctly remember the year, month, or day, but says it was warm weather, and not on Sunday, and she thinks in the same year in which the Bishop arrived from England.”*

This contemporary account has all the ear-marks of genuineness. The Bishop's first confirmation would naturally be in his own parish, and as soon as possible after his consecration. The large number of candidates is accounted for by the fact that it was the first time Confirmation had ever been administered in New York.

Even more interest was excited by ordinations. Bishop White, shortly after his consecration, wrote “We had determined never to ordain on Sunday, because of the concourse it brings.” The same condition prevailed in New York. Bishop Provoost's first ordination took place in St. George's Chapel, on July 15, 1787, when Richard Channing Moore† and Joseph J. G. Bend‡ were ordered Deacons. *The Daily Advertiser* of the 17th contained the following account of the service:

“On Sunday last, in St. George's Chapel, in this city, Mr. Richard C. Moore and Mr. Joseph J. G. Bend were ordained Deacons of the Episcopal Church, by the Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, D. D., Bishop of said Church in this State. These gentlemen, according to the usage of the Church, are ordained Deacons with special permission to preach; and it is requisite they should continue Deacons for some time, previous to their admission into the order of Priesthood. The Chapel was unusually crowded, the ceremonies of Episcopal Ordination being novel in America. The solemnity of the occasion, the great good conduct which was observed through every part of it, and an excellent sermon, adapted to the present time, delivered by the Rev. Benjamin Moore, with an admired diction and eloquence peculiar to him, made a pleasing impression on the audience.

We cannot, on this occasion, but with pleasure reflect,

*Norton. *Life of Provoost*, p. 132-33.

†Later Bishop of Virginia.

‡After his ordination Bend became assistant to Bishop White in Philadelphia, and in 1791 went to Baltimore as rector of St. Paul's Church. He was a noted leader of the High Church party.

that the Protestant Episcopal Church, in these States, is now perfectly organized, and in the full enjoyment of each spiritual privilege (in common with other denominations) requisite to its preservation and prosperity."

An even more elaborate account of the second ordination of the Bishop appeared in *The Protestant Churchman*. The service was held in St. Paul's Chapel on October 18th, 1787. The account reads thus:

"Columbia College was closed for the day. The President, Professors, and Students all attended at St. Paul's; and this, with the occasion, attracted a numerous audience. Here and there were to be seen venerable gentlemen in their large powdered wigs, and their gold-headed canes—such as the Rev. Dr. Livingston, Rev. Dr. Rodgers, Rev. Dr. Kunze, and other non-Episcopal clergymen of the city, who had been invited by the Rev. Dr. Beach, and were all personal friends of the Bishop. His early ancestors were French Protestants, who had fled from France after the massacre of St. Bartholomew in the year 1572. The Bishop himself was a native of this city, and was baptized in the Dutch Church in the Dutch language.

In his canonicals he read the Morning Prayer, and then left the reading-desk for an arm-chair within the railing of the chancel, and the Rev. George Wright ascended the pulpit. This divine was a native of Ireland, educated in Trinity College, Dublin, and having been admitted into the ministry, came out to this country. He was now Rector of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn; and he took for his text, 'Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.' He expatiated on the origin and design of the Christian ministry, on the preached word, the right administration of the sacraments, and the succession of the ministry from the Apostles' time to the present, as constituting the only true Church. He admitted that sects had sprung up, but denied their validity; comparing them to the man who would convey an estate to another, when no title was vested in himself.

This boldness on the part of Mr. Wright made the Bishop restless and uneasy, lest Dr. Beach's invited clergy should take offence; but fortunately no notice was taken, except by Dr. Rodgers, who inquired of Dr. Beach, whether Mr. Wright was aware that Bishop Provoost had been baptized by Dominie Du Bois."*

During his administration Bishop Provoost took official part in two notable services. As a tribute to his loyalty during the War of the Revolution the Bishop was chosen as chaplain to the United States Senate. It then became his duty to officiate at the religious service

*Norton. *Life*, pages 130-31.

held in connection with the inauguration of General George Washington as President of the Republic. After the delivery of his inaugural address, the President "proceeded with the whole assemblage on foot to St. Paul's Chapel, where prayers suited to the occasion were read by Dr. Provoost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York."

The other notable service was the consecration of the second Trinity Church, the first having been destroyed in the great fire of 1776. For eight years the gaunt walls, which the *Pennsylvania Packet* declared "had long been a source of terror to the inhabitants," had stood a silent witness of the former glory. In 1788 the work of re-building began. *The Daily Advertiser* of August 23rd contains the following account of the laying of the corner-stone:

"On Thursday at 12 o'clock, the foundation Stone of Trinity Church was laid by the Right Reverend Samuel Provoost, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New York. On the stone is the following inscription: To the *honour of Almighty God* and the Advancement of the *Christian Religion*. The first stone of this building was laid (on the site of the old, destroyed by fire in 1776) on the 21st day of August, A. D., 1788. In the 13th year of the *independence* of the *United States of America*. The Right Reverend Samuel Provoost, D. D., Bishop of New York, being Rector.

The Honourable James Duane Esqr

The Honourable John Jay Esqr

Church Wardens.

The inscription was written by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, first President of King's College.

In accordance with the custom of the day, pews were sold by auction. The sale took place on March 2, 1790, Mr. Bleecker being the auctioneer. *The Daily Advertiser* of the following day announced that "The number of persons that attended the sale was very great, and such was the desire of having seats in that church, that many of the Pews produced more than Fifty Pounds. The whole amount of the sale was Three Thousand Pounds." The seat of the Federal government being then in New York, the Vestry ordered

"That a pew be appropriated for the use of the President of the United States, with a canopy over it, and properly ornamented. And that another pew, opposite to the President's, be set apart for the Governor of the State and members of Congress."

The Bishop was requested to wait on the President, and inform him

that the Corporation had agreed to offer him a pew in Trinity Church. Mr. Washington expressed appreciation of the courtesy and regularly attended either Trinity or St. Paul's during his residence in New York.

The church was solemnly consecrated to the worship of Almighty God on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25th, 1790. Bishop Provoost officiated, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach, Assistant Minister, from the text: "And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place: this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." The President occupied his pew of state, and the kindly feeling existing between the Church and other Christian bodies in the city was evidenced by the presence of their ministers.

Outside Trinity parish the only extension of the Church in the city of New York during Bishop Provoost's active administration was the establishment of Christ Church and the erection of St. Mark's Church, on the old Peter Stuyvesant farm in the Bowrie. Prior to 1660 the Governor had there established his country seat, and around it had sprung up a small settlement, a little chapel being provided for its spiritual welfare. Later it was abandoned. In 1793 his great-grandson, Petrus Stuyvesant, offered twelve city lots for the erection of a church. The offer was accepted, and on St. Mark's Day, April 25, 1795, the corner-stone was laid by Bishop Provoost. Four years later, on May 9, 1799, the building was consecrated by the Bishop, the sermon being preached by the Rev. Benjamin Moore. The church was far out of town; as late as 1807 the rector reported the number of communicants as 60 to 70 in winter, and 120 and 200 in summer. Christ Church, Ann Street, was created in 1793 to provide a pulpit for the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, a former itinerant preacher under John Wesley in England, and, who after the War of the Revolution, had been ordained by Bishop Seabury. Failing to secure his appointment as one of the Assistant Ministers of Trinity parish, his friends incorporated for him a new parish—an act strongly resented by the Corporation of Trinity which feared the new church might claim a share in the revenues of the mother parish. The lay delegates from Christ Church were refused recognition in the Diocesan Convention year by year until 1802. Notwithstanding this fact, Dr. Pilmore continued to preach to crowds of people who were content with standing room in the church.

In 1797 a golden opportunity to promote Church unity was missed by the Bishop and the Convention. The Journal of that year states that

"The Rev. Dr. Moore communicated to the Convention a letter addressed to him by the Rev. Mr. Ellison, stating

that some Lutheran clergymen had, in the name and on behalf of the Consistory of the Lutheran Church in the State of New York, intimated to him a desire to have it proposed to this Convention that their Church might be united with the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, and that their ministers might receive Episcopal ordination.”*

As far back as 1663 the Rev. Joannes Ernestus Goetwater had arrived in New York with “a commission from the Consistory at Amsterdam to act as pastor to the Lutherans at the Manhattans.”† The Dutch had not learned religious toleration, and he was forbidden to preach and ordered to leave the Province. Under the English rule permission was given to send for a minister and build a church which was erected at the corner of Rector Street and Broadway. This building was destroyed in the fire of 1776, and the site was subsequently sold to Grace Church. The Diocesan Convention passed the following resolution concerning the overture:

Resolved, That the Rev. Dr. Moore, Rev. Mr. Ellison, and Rev. Mr. Rogers, be a Committee to meet such gentlemen of the Lutheran Church as may be duly appointed by their ecclesiastical authority to confer with them on this subject; and that, should it appear to the Conferees on the part of this Church proper and necessary to obtain the interposition of the General Convention for the accomplishment of this object, they shall be empowered, with the advice and consent of the Bishop, to make application, in the name of this Convention, to that body at its meeting in September next; and that they shall make a report of their proceedings to the next State Convention.”‡

No mention is made of the matter in the Journal of the General Convention, and there is no record of a meeting of the Diocesan Convention for the years 1798, 1799, or 1800; neither is the subject mentioned in any subsequent convention.

(End of Part I)

**Journal*, 1797, p. 86-7.

†*Disoway*. *The Earliest Churches of New York*, p. 102ff.

‡*Journal*, 1797, p. 86-7.

BISHOP SEABURY SESQUI-CENTENNIAL

By Evelyn A. Cummins

THE first of a series of Bishop Seabury sesqui-centennial celebrations was observed on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, at St. Paul's Church, Woodbury, Connecticut. It was on this day, in the year 1783 that ten of the fourteen clergy of the State who had survived the ravages of the War of the Revolution met in what is now known as the Glebe House, Woodbury, to select a suitable person to go to England to secure the blessing of a "free and valid episcopate" for Connecticut, and through Connecticut, for the Church in the United States of America. That historic house has been carefully restored to its colonial simplicity, and is now visited by pilgrims from all over the country and from the lands across the seas.

St. Paul's Church, established in 1740, stands on the main street of Woodbury and is in an excellent state of preservation. The commemoration services were both simple and dignified. They consisted of a celebration of the Holy Communion, a sermon and words of greeting from representatives of other dioceses. Connecticut was represented by its three bishops: Chauncey B. Brewster, retired; Edward C. Acheson, diocesan, and Frederick G. Budlong, coadjutor. Bishop Hugh L. Burleson represented the Presiding Bishop then in the distant Orient, and Bishop William Thomas Manning came from the diocese of New York, where Dr. Samuel Seabury spent most of his ministry prior to his consecration as bishop. It was fitting that the venerable Bishop Brewster should be the celebrant. Bishop Manning read the epistle and Bishop Burleson the gospel.

At the beginning of the Revolution there had been twenty clergymen of the Church of England in Connecticut, but by 1783, they were reduced to fourteen in number with congregations. These men, like their congregations, had been more or less impoverished by the war, and that they must have been for many reasons subdued in spirit is apparent in the fact that they met to elect a bishop with the utmost secrecy. Not even the names of those who were present are known. No minutes of the meeting have been preserved. Presumably, the meeting was attended by the rector of Woodbury, the Rev. John Rutgers Marshall, as it was held in the house in which he lived.

The Rev. Abraham Jarvis of Middletown was present, for he was made the secretary of the group. No laymen were present.

The salaries of the missionaries in America had been withdrawn by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at the end of the Revolution, though some of them were given the chance to go further north to minister under the Society in jurisdictions of the Church of England. That the missionaries did not accept this offer, is a sign of their loyalty and abiding faith in America and in their life and work there, for it must have been a great temptation to some of them to think of an assured future and salary in an established Church.

There was at that time great fear of opposition in America towards the episcopate. The Church of England was far from popular in the early days of the Colonies and the Puritan Churches were particularly bitter toward the Church during and after the Revolution, fearing that members of it must be inherently opposed to the principles of liberty, as the Puritans conceived it. One historian tells us, "The whole body of the Puritans were determined to resist the introduction of bishops into America. They feared lest these might use all the authority of the Crown to destroy Puritanism and establish Prelacy." To what heights the feeling of the laity rose may be deduced from the fact that as late as 1787 some of the population of Pennsylvania threatened to throw Bishop White into the river when he returned from his consecration in England.

The Rev. Daniel Fogg, who was present at the Woodbury meeting, wrote to the Rev. Samuel Parker of Boston, later Bishop of Massachusetts, who died without performing a single Episcopal act, of the Woodbury group meeting, "The Connecticut clergy have done already everything in their power in the matter you were anxious about: would write you the particulars, if I knew of any safe opportunity of sending this letter, but as I do not, must defer it till I do."*

For obvious reasons the Church could not function without the episcopacy, or something which would serve as a substitute. There had long been controversies upon the subject of the American episcopate, and from time to time it was thought the granting of a bishop for America might be conceded by the authorities in England. However, all efforts came to naught but words, supplemented by anguish and bitterness. American candidates for holy orders could not be ordained except by going to England. One-fifth of the candidates who did so did not return to America. Probably the strongest reason for the convening of the Connecticut clergy was their fear of the adoption of a plan to settle the episcopacy, which was published in a

*Beardsley. *Life of Samuel Seabury*, p. 78.

pamphlet issued anonymously from Philadelphia.* The author was known to be the Rev. William White, later Bishop of Pennsylvania. This pamphlet "proposed the combining of the clergy and of representatives of the congregations, in convenient districts, with a representative body of the whole, nearly on the plan subsequently adopted. This ecclesiastical representative was to make a declaration approving of episcopacy, and professing a determination to possess the succession when it could be obtained; but they were to carry the plan into immediate act." The pamphlet advocated temporarily consecrating bishops by presbyters until proper consecration could be obtained. It is easy to understand the horror of the conservative Connecticut churchmen at the hurling of such an ecclesiastical bomb. Immediately they organized their forces, with one definite common course in mind, the selection of a man to obtain proper consecration before any more harm was done to the Church in America. The rest of the Church was confused by the issue, but they were not. They knew what they had to do, and they did it.

That the Rev. William White later retracted some of the statements he had made in this pamphlet is beside the point in the present article. He was later to regret bitterly some of the points he had advocated about the American episcopacy.

One of the acts of the Woodbury meeting was to draw up a letter in answer to Dr. White, which said, in part:

Reverend Sir,—We, the clergy of Connecticut, met at Woodbury in voluntary convention, beg leave to acquaint you that a small pamphlet, printed in Philadelphia, has been transmitted to us, of which you are said to be the author. This pamphlet proposes a new form of government in the Episcopal Church, and points at the method of erecting it. As the thirteen States have now risen to independent sovereignty, we agree with you, sir, that the chain which connected this with the mother Church is broken; that the American Church is now left to stand in its own strength, and that some change in its regulations must in due time take place. But we think it premature and of dangerous consequence, to enter upon so capital a business, till we have resident bishops (if they can be obtained) to assist in the performance of it, and to form a new union in the American Church, under proper superiors, since its union is now broken with such superiors in the British Church. We shall only advert to such things in the pamphlet as we esteem of dangerous consequence. You say the conduct you mean to recommend is to include in the proposed frame of government a general approbation of Episcopacy, and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as

**The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered* (1783).

soon as conveniently may be; but in the mean time to carry the plan into effect, without waiting for the succession. But why do you include a general approbation of Episcopacy in your proposed new frame of government? not because you think bishops a constituent part of an Episcopal Church, unless you conceive they derive their office and existence from the king's authority; for though you acknowledge we cannot at present have bishops here, and propose to set up without them, yet you say no constitutional principle of our Church is changed by the Revolution, but what was founded on the authority of the king. Your motives for the above general approbation seem, indeed, to be purely political. One is, that the general opinion of Episcopalians is in favor of bishops, and therefore (if we understand your reasoning) it would be impolitic not to flatter them with the hopes of it. Another reason is, that too wide a deviation from the British Church might induce future emigrants from thence to set up independent churches here. But could you have proposed to set up the ministry, without waiting for the succession, had you believed the Episcopal superiority to be an ordinance of Christ, with the exclusive authority of ordination and government, and that it has ever been so esteemed in the purest ages of the Church? and yet we conceive this to be the sense of Episcopalians in general, and warranted by the constant practice of the Christian Church. Really, sir, we think an Episcopal Church without Episcopacy, if it be not a contradiction in terms, would, however, be a new thing under the sun; and yet the Episcopal Church, by the pamphlet proposed to be erected, must be in this predicament till the succession be obtained. You plead necessity, however, and argue that the best writers in the Church admit of Presbyterian ordination where Episcopal cannot be had. To prove this, you quote concessions from the venerable Hooker, and Dr. Chandler, which their exuberant charity to the reformed churches abroad led them to make. But the very words you quote from the last mentioned gentleman prove his opinion to be, that bishops were as truly an ordinance of Christ, and as essential to his Church, as the sacraments; for, say you, he insists upon it (meaning the Episcopal superiority) as of divine right; asserts that the laws relating to it bind as strongly as the laws which relate to baptism and the holy Eucharist, and that if the succession be once broken, not all the men on earth, not all the angels in heaven, without an immediate commission from Christ, can restore it; but you say he does not, however, hold this succession to be necessary, only where it can be had. Neither does he or the Christian Church hold the sacraments to be necessary, where they cannot be had agreeable to the appointment of the Great Head of the Church. Why should particular acts of authority be thought more necessary than the authority itself?

Why should the sacraments be more essential than that authority Christ has ordained to administer them? It is true that Christ has appointed the sacraments, and it is true that He hath appointed officers to administer them, and has expressly forbid any to do it but those who are authorized by His appointment, or called of God, as was Aaron. And yet these gentlemen (without any inconsistency with their declared sentiments) have, and all good men will express their charitable hopes, that God, in compassion to a well-meant zeal, will add the same blessings to those who, through unavoidable mistake, act beside His commission as if they really had it. As far as we can find, it has been the constant opinion of our Church in England and here, that the Episcopal superiority is an ordinance of Christ, and we think that the uniform practice of the whole American Church, for near a century, sending their candidates three thousand miles for Holy Orders, is more than a presumptive proof that the Church here are, and ever have been, of this opinion. The sectaries, soon after the Reformation, declared that the book of consecration, etc., was superstitious and contrary to God's Word, and the moderation you mention in the articles and canons consists in affirming that this declaration was entirely false; and would you wish to be more severe? The instances you adduce, wherein Presbyterian ordination has been tolerated in the Church, have, by its best writers, been set in such a point of view as to give no countenance to your scheme, and the authorities you quote have been answered again and again. If you will not allow this superiority to have an higher origin than the apostles; yet since they were divinely inspired, we see not why their practice is not equal to a divine warrant; and as they have given no liberty to deviate from their practice in any exigence of the church, we know not what authority we have to take such liberties in any case. However, we think nothing can be more clear, than that our Church has ever believed bishops to have the sole right of ordination and government, and that this regimen was appointed of Christ Himself, and it is now, to use your own words, humbly submitted to consideration, whether such Episcopalians as consent even to a temporary departure, and set aside this ordinance of Christ for conveniency, can scarcely deserve the name of Christians. But would necessity warrant a deviation from the law of Christ, and the immemorial practice of the Church, yet what necessity have we to plead? Can we plead necessity with any propriety, till we have tried to obtain an Episcopate, and have been rejected? We conceive the present to be a more favorable opportunity for the introduction of bishops than this country has before seen. However dangerous bishops formerly might have been thought to the civil rights of these States, this danger has now vanished, for such superiors will have no civil au-

thority. They will be purely ecclesiastics. The States have now risen to sovereign authority, and bishops will be equally under the control of civil law with other clergymen; no danger, then, can now be feared from bishops, but such as may be feared from presbyters. This being the case, have we not the highest reason to hope, that the whole civil authority upon the continent (should their assistance be needed) will unite their influences with the Church, to procure an office so essential to it, and to render complete a profession, which contains so considerable a proportion of its inhabitants?"

The only letters in existence which tell anything of the Woodbury meeting are the famous "Fogg letters," to the Rev. Samuel Parker in Boston. These, in addition to the one already quoted, read as follows:*

Pomfret, July 14th, '83.

Dear Sir:—I wrote you a few lines the 2d inst., by an uncertain conveyance, in which I mentioned that the Connecticut clergy had done all in their power respecting the matter you were anxious about; but they kept it a profound secret, even from their most intimate friends of the laity.

The matter is this: After consulting the clergy in New York how to keep up the succession, they unanimously agreed to send a person to England to be consecrated Bishop for America, and pitched upon Dr. Seabury as the most proper person for this purpose, who sailed for England the beginning of last month, highly recommended by all the clergy in New York and Connecticut, etc. If he succeeds, he is to come out as Missionary for New London, or some other vacant mission; and if they will not receive him in Connecticut, or any other of the *States of America*, he is to go to Nova Scotia. Sir Guy (Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces in America,) highly approves of the plan, and has used all his influence in favor of it.

The clergy have even gone so far as to instruct Dr. Seabury, if none of the regular Bishops of the Church of England will ordain him, to go down to Scotland and receive ordination from a nonjuring Bishop. Please let me know, by Mr. Grosvenor, how you approved of the plan, and whether you have received any late accounts from England.

From your affectionate brother,

D. Fogg.

Dear Sir:—I am very glad that the conduct of the Connecticut clergy meets with your approbation in the main.

*Perry. *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. II, p. 120-121.

Dr. Seabury's being a refugee was an objection which I made, but was answered, they could not fix on any other person who they thought was so likely to succeed as he was, and should he succeed, and not be permitted to reside in any of the United States, it would be an easy matter for any other gentleman, who was not obnoxious to the *powers that be*, to be consecrated by him at Halifax. And as to the objection of not consulting the clergy of the other States, the time would not allow of it, and there was nobody to consult in the State of New York, except refugees, and they were consulted. And in the State of Connecticut there are fourteen clergymen. And in your State and New Hampshire you know how many there are, and you know there is no compulsion in the matter, and you will be left to act as you please, either to be subject to him or not. As to the matter of his support, that must be an after consideration.

Your affectionate friend and brother,

D. Fogg.

There were two candidates only in the minds of the ten men. One was the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, and the other was the Rev. Samuel Seabury. One or the other must go to England, and if possible, return speedily after his consecration to help to organize the Church and its work in America. Jeremiah Leaming was the first choice of the men assembled at Woodbury, though he was not present at the meeting. For many years he and Abraham Jarvis had been the leading presbyters in Connecticut. A staunch loyalist, Leaming had suffered the loss of most of his property and had been cast into prison. In all the histories which deal with this event it has been stated that Dr. Leaming declined the office by reason of age and infirmity. In the light of very recent discoveries that statement must be modified, if not eliminated. We have now a set of Letters written by Leaming to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters, a loyalist refugee living in London. In those letters Dr. Leaming reveals the real reason for declining the Episcopate. In 1786 he wrote to Peters, "You ask me why I was not Bp. of Con't.? I was Bp. elect by vote of the clergy here; but fearing the Ch'h might suffer under my poor abilities, caused me to answer, *Nolo episcopari*. Had I known that Dr. S. had so many personal enemies, I should not have given the answer I did."

This is under the Rose; and you force me to say that which I do not wish to be repeated.*

Here Leaming makes no mention of age or infirmity. It is clear that his real reason was a mistrust of his own ability to fill so exalted an office. One year later he again mentions the matter in a letter to Dr. Peters. He writes, "Everything ought to be so easy, when

**Historical Magazine of the P. E. Church, Vol. I, p. 120-121.*

it is so easy to be made a Bp. and so easy to conduct yt. business after they are made. Had I known this before, I should not have been so diffident as I have been." That his age was not a factor in his decision is proved by the fact that a few years later he expressed his willingness to be chosen Bishop of New Jersey.

Leaming, however, did decline. The choice then fell upon the Reverend Doctor Samuel Seabury, who was well and favorably known to the Connecticut clergy. The meeting drew up definite plans and instructions for Seabury. Credentials were prepared and the support of the New York clergy sought. A statement of the needs of the American Church was drafted for the English Archbishops. These papers Seabury was to present to the ecclesiastical authorities and to endeavor to obtain consecration at their hands. If he failed so to do, he was empowered to seek consecration from the Non-juring bishops of the Church of Scotland. It was a bold venture of ten men who were willing to make any sacrifice to obtain the Episcopate without which the Church in America could not fully function. It was a still bolder venture for Seabury, who undertook the quest without any assurance of success and persisted in it through good and evil report. In pursuance thereof he sacrificed his private means, but eventually brought back to America the priceless gift of a "free and valid Episcopate."

THE CHURCH IN THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS

THE Republic of Texas was established in the year 1836. Two years later the Reverend Leonidas Polk was consecrated as Bishop of Arkansas and his jurisdiction embraced the Texan Republic. The first missionary was the Reverend Caleb S. Ives, who was appointed in 1838 by the foreign committee of the Board of Missions. He settled at Matagorda; organized a parish and built a church which was consecrated by Bishop Polk in 1844. The Rev. R. M. Chapman was appointed to Houston in 1838, and the following year a parish was organized. He was succeeded by the Reverend Benjamin Eaton in 1841, who extended his labors to Galveston. He reported seventeen communicants at Houston and at Galveston he found "only four persons who professed any attachment to the Church."

The following documents shed interesting and valuable light on the beginnings of the Church in the Republic:

TEXAS, MATAGORDA: CHRIST CHURCH

Matagorda—The following letter from Bishop Polk to the Rev. Mr. Ives may lead, we hope, to further benefactions in aid of Mr. Ives' mission.

"Matagorda, (Texas), May 27th, 1839.

"Reverend and Dear Brother,—It gives me great pleasure to say to you, that I find your field an exceedingly interesting and promising one. I find you have taken a good hold on the affections and esteem of the people, and that your efforts have tended strongly to recommend the peculiar institutions of our Church. The field as yet, indeed, seems all your own, and I trust that the Christian liberality of our brethren in the United States, among whom you have now gone, will, by their contributions towards your object, enable you to maintain the position you now hold. You are greatly in want of a church, and I know not a more worthy object for the benefactions of the pious than the one you have now gone to present to them. This is manifestly one of the most promising towns of the republic, and it must give tone to a large district which surrounds it. The influence of a Church here, must be felt more or less through-

out the Colorado country. May God bless and prosper you abundantly in your work and labor of love. Affectionately your brother,

Leonidas Polk."

October 12, 1839.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN TEXAS

That Texas is an important and interesting missionary field for the Church, no one can doubt, who is well informed with regard to its present circumstances, prospects and position. It is now independent, with territory sufficient to make it a respectable nation, and a soil and climate which must necessarily make it a wealthy and densely populated country. Its civil and political institutions are modelled after those of the United States, and every thing moves on so orderly, methodically, and systematically, in the administration of the government, as to give sufficient guarantee, that it will be permanent. The inhabitants are, with few exceptions, emigrants from the United States, so that the great body of the citizens of Texas are the brothers and sisters, and the sons and daughters of the citizens of the United States, speaking the same language, and educated in the same religion. There is a greater ratio of intelligence and enterprize among the people than in any community I have ever seen or known. Their intelligence teaches them that they cannot expect good order, morality, and a faithful execution of their laws, without the institutions and influence of the Gospel, and in many instances, they are now exceedingly anxious for their establishment. A fair proportion of the population have been educated in the Episcopal Church, and there is a general willingness, and in many instances a strong desire, as is the case generally in the Southern United States, for its introduction among them. There are now supposed to be about 150,000 inhabitants in Texas, and not a single house of public worship for any protestant denomination in the whole republic. This statement shows the importance of the field; and if the character of the people is so low, and reckless, as many suppose it to be, it proves their greater need of the ministrations of the Gospel, and enhances our obligation to extend them to their country.

Matagorda, the missionary station of the Rev. Mr. Ives, is considered by him as a peculiarly important point for the early establishment of the Church. It must be one of the great shipping ports of the country, being situated on Matagorda bay, at the mouth of the Colorado river, the largest river in the republic. It has the most extensive fertile land country of any port in Texas, and at the mouth of a river, which, when 7 or 8 miles of raft now obstructing its naviga-

tion just above its mouth, is removed, will be navigable between 400 and 500 miles with the seat of government, as recently located, at the head of navigation. There are now 51 families in Matagorda, and of these, 14 are now Episcopalians, together with 17 single young gentlemen. In addition to this, all the families which are not committed, or are not strongly attached to some other denomination, (and these are very few), are ready, willing, and in many instances anxious, to have the Episcopal Church established among them. In short, the ground is *all* ours, if we can plant ourselves *now*. I.

APPEAL FROM CHRIST CHURCH, MATAGORDA,
REPUBLIC OF TEXAS

Matagorda, July 4, 1840.

It is with gratitude to God, that I, in the name of the Vestry of the Church, and of the people generally of this place, acknowledge the kind reception and Christian liberality of the friends of the Church, among whom I went, during the last year, to procure funds to aid in building a Church in Matagorda. Only about two thirds of the funds, however, were received by me which are necessary to build the plainest and cheapest building which is needed decently and comfortably to accommodate the people of this place with church room. The deficiency, we had fondly hoped, from what was said to me in places where I made no applications, would, before this time, have been received; but in this, we are, for some reason unknown to us in this distant region, disappointed. We hear that the Church has, according to arrangements made by me while there, been shipped from New York for this place. Lacking the funds which we had hoped and expected, one of two things must be the event. Either the Church when it arrives, must be piled up to go to decay in this moist climate, or the people here must attempt to put it up, which *cannot* be done, without absolutely curtailing themselves in the necessities of life, and distressing their families. When I know there are thousands in the Church in the United States who would most cheerfully give one dollar, and hundreds who would as cheerfully give five dollars, and many, very many, who are able, and as willing as they are able, to give ten dollars to help us out of this difficulty, my heart bleeds when I reflect upon the subject. Were Texas money now only as good and abundant as when I was in the United States last year, we could, among ourselves, put up the church when it arrives, for two dollars of it were then worth one in good money; but now, six of it are worth only one; and a hundred per cent., and perhaps five hundred per cent. scarcer than then. I now, therefore, do not hesitate to appeal to the

friends of the Church in the United States who have not as yet done so, to aid us; and especially do I appeal to my brethren in the ministry, who have been my fellow-students on my course of preparation for the sacred office, to make up a small sum for us in their respective parishes. Five, ten, twenty-five, and in many cases fifty dollars, can be raised for us by an old friend, with no inconvenience to himself or parish, which would serve to bind him to me, and especially to the household of Christ, more closely than ever, and enable me to plant a little church in the wilderness free from debt, and in which I can then, with a light heart, and with all my energies, proclaim the glad tidings of salvation through a crucified Saviour.

My brethren, the prospects of the Church here are far brighter than they were twelve months ago. Her peculiarities are from day to day becoming better known, and as she is known, she becomes generally more acceptable; and in some instances she becomes, as she should be, highly revered. Nor are my own labors, by the grace of God, without some of the proper fruits of the Gospel ministry; as I have baptized several adults, and several families of children, and admitted some to the communion, and expect soon to baptize and admit some others.

If any individual has any thing to bestow upon us, or any thing should be collected for us, we request that it be forwarded to Charles J. Aldis, Esq., treasurer of the Foreign Department of our Missionary Society, in New York.

Caleb S. Ives.

To the Editor of the Churchman

Matagorda, Texas, 14th July, 1840.

Sir,—The pleasure which every Christian must feel on learning that a knowledge of the saving truths of religion is spreading in a land hitherto nearly Gentile, emboldens me, a stranger, to address you. Texas was, up till nearly the present time, a wilderness, and the people were void of the means of publicly worshipping in spirit and in truth that God who has promised that "whoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Without places of public worship and ministers of religion, to call the attention of a mixed population, collected from nearly all parts of the earth, for the purpose of making money, and strangers to each other, and to their duties, it was to be expected that they would wander from the right path, and become immersed in vice. But it has pleased Providence, in his infinite mercy, to meliorate their condition, by sending us ministers, who have collected the scattered portions of the Christian flock, who, by their example, induce scoffers to turn to God, and render the whole face of society completely changed.

The pure Christian doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church, when mildly instilled into the ears, cannot fail to soon touch the hearts of the hearers. No place in Texas shows a more striking change than the town of Matagorda. Matagorda is situated on the Colorado river, where it empties itself into the Bay of Matagorda, which bay is entered from the Gulf of Mexico by the Passo de Caballo. On this river is situated, about two hundred miles up, the Capitol of the Republic, the city of Austin. All along the river, which is navigable to a considerable distance up, the banks are studded with plantations, and the country around Matagorda has many wealthy planters residing on it. All this country, and up the river, are chiefly supplied from Matagorda, which is the seaport to which nearly all the goods come for the interior; consequently there always is a considerable number of strangers in this town, either from the interior or from abroad. From this it must be apparent how great an effect would be produced on an immense portion of the inhabitants of this Republic by the example of the citizens of Matagorda.

This town has always possessed a number of old, steady, and respectable inhabitants, who, by their example, gave a check to the vices of the more dissolute portion, still this could have but a partial effect, and that merely on their external demeanor. Three years ago, intemperance, gambling, and other vices prevailed to a great extent; the Sabbath was unrespected, the ear was shocked by profaneness, and there was perfect freedom and licentiousness; men little thought they had immortal souls to be saved; although law was respected, still that put small restraint on the commission of moral offences. No means of education being to be had, those parents who had a regard for the welfare of their children, and had not the means of sending them on to the States, were in great anguish. The elder and respected inhabitants looked on such a state of affairs with great grief, but owing to the situation of this country just after a revolution, and burdened with debt, they were too poor to get the means of spiritual instruction without assistance. Some months back, through the exertions of our Christian brethren of the States, the Rev. Caleb S. Ives was induced to come out here, and since his arrival he has done much towards bringing back to a sense of their duties those whose avocations and situation had nearly obliterated their former religious feelings, and has given exceeding consolation to those who, although deprived of the opportunities of joining in public worship, had still kept alive in their hearts, and felt in their souls, the comforting precepts of the Gospel. He has made himself an invaluable member of society, by performing his duties in that kind and feeling manner which so much grace his profession. With much talent, he possesses a true devotion to his calling, which, by impressing his hearers

with the idea of being perfectly sincere, produces effects which would not otherwise be produced. His plain, unaffected manners and affectionate attention to all his parishioners, with whom he has taken care to make himself acquainted, and whom he constantly visits in sickness and in health, realize in his person Goldsmith's beautiful description:

"A man he is to all the country dear."

The principles by which he is guided, are the pure scriptural ones, "that joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance," and "that they that are whole, need not a physician; but they that are sick." No human being is considered by him too far astray from the path of truth not to be worthy of an effort to regain. In place of fulminating from the pulpit the fiery threats of an angry deity against man for his wickedness, he teaches the unspeakable blessings which follow a sincere belief in the Word of God, and leading a life in accordance with God's law, and portrays religion in its true light, that "her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."

Besides his endeavors for the benefit of the adult population on the week days, he is engaged in instructing the rising generation, and instilling into their youthful minds those moral and religious precepts which are calculated to make them virtuous and happy in this world, and when this life is ended, "meet for an inheritance above." Many disadvantages has he had to encounter since he came here, among them the want of a church; as, owing to the general commercial distress and want of funds, the people were unable to defray the expense of erecting one. During the summer of last year, Mr. Ives visited the United States, and through the munificence of our brethren there, purchased a church, which, as soon as money enough can be collected to defray the charge, will be erected. When they consider that Mexico contains twelve millions of inhabitants, the greater number of whom are without the means of learning the soul-saving precepts and doctrines of the Christian Church, and this is the first effort to establish the Protestant Episcopal Church in this land, from which, with the blessing of God, it will most likely spread to Mexico, and be the means of saving many immortal souls from destruction, I am sure no stronger inducement can be offered to our brethren in the States to grant us their assistance.

[Signed] A Member of the Episcopal Church of Texas.

Texas.—The following narrative from a correspondent in Texas, will be gratifying to our readers:—

"On the 14th of October the corner-stone of the first

Episcopal Church, in the republic, was laid in this city—(Matagorda)—the Rev. C. S. Ives officiating on the occasion.

“At 10 o'clock the inhabitants met at the house of Mr. Ives: the procession to the ground was formed in the following order: The Clergyman, the Churchwardens, the Mayor, (J. Y. Sewell, Esq.,) the City Marshall, and Aldermen of the Corporation, the professional gentlemen of the city;—followed by a large concourse of the respectable citizens, marching two by two. The weather was peculiarly fine, and a number of elegantly dressed ladies honored the ceremony with their presence.—At the proper place in the service, Mr. Ives addressed the assembly in the following manner:

“He pointed out the benefits accruing from the attendance on public worship in promoting human happiness, by arousing and cherishing the good feelings, particularly that of charity, and by establishing a deep regard for morality and good order. That as a social community, our young and rising town would be beneficially influenced by it, now that its character and tone of society are being formed, and its prosperity increased. Also the still higher benefit resulting from a true sense of religion, in making man fit for the felicities of life everlasting. The man, said the Rev. gentleman, who regularly attends on public worship, and observes the LORD's day, from hearing and having impressed on his mind the divine truths of the Gospel, and those great and glorious rewards held out by it to those who persevere in the true course, must inevitably become moral and philanthropic, the grosser vices of swearing and tippling will soon be given up by him, as when his mind is acted on by a proper feeling of his duty to his GOD and fellow man, he will not have any pleasure in them: in all his dealings he will adopt the “*golden rule*” of doing “unto others as he would they should do unto him.” The love of the human family with which he will soon be imbued, will urge him, and in fact make it his greatest happiness, to remove human suffering and soothe where it cannot be removed; to promote the welfare of all; and finally, by his example of virtuous conduct and patience under worldly evils, to exalt the condition and character of society. Our town, which promises to be one of much importance, is now in its infancy. It has yet to establish its character, and by its example will have a great influence over a large portion of this Republic. The whole history of the world shows that no community can ever enjoy prosperity unless there be a sense of religion among its members; and now that means of public worship are given to the inhabitants, there is every reason to hope that their hearts will be turned to GOD—thereby happiness and morality will spread through our whole society. The paramount consideration in founding a house of GOD is the knowledge that we all have immortal souls to be saved, for which salvation it is necessary we should know the precepts of CHRIST's Gospel, and practise

them. The non-observance of the duties laid down there incurs a fearful penalty, while the opposite course entitles to unspeakable rewards. Here, then, is a temple open to all who choose to enter, where will be administered the ordinances of the Gospel of CHRIST which, if properly received, will entitle man to a life of eternal happiness.

"When the ceremony of laying the corner-stone was concluded, John Delap, Esq., addressed the meeting. He said: 'Ladies and gentlemen, and fellow-citizens, I should much regret that the present interesting opportunity should pass without a few observations from some one of our old citizens. It is in the memory of several now present, that years ago the inhabitants of Matagorda, whose opinions were of any value, anxiously wished for a minister of the Gospel to reside among them, in whom the sentiments and affections of the people could concentrate. That wished for consummation has been fully realized. We have^o here among us, our highly-esteemed friend, the Rev. C. S. Ives, in an eminent degree possessing all the qualities so anxiously desired. In the general discharge of his clerical duties he gives universal satisfaction. Kind and affectionate in his address, evincing so lively an interest in the welfare of each family in our city and vicinity, that every man considers Mr. Ives not only his spiritual adviser, but his personal friend. Did we search the new world and the old, 'tis doubtful if a clergyman could be found so peculiarly suited to the inhabitants of our city as my reverend friend. Who, in this community, has been visited with sickness and pain, and has not ample cause to recur, with grateful feelings, to the bland and affectionate visits of Mr. Ives? Was it with a long and gloomy face that he entered the chambers of the sick? No—cheerful, yet grave; animated, yet subdued; his countenance beamed with genuine Christian benevolence; he reconciled the patient to life, and prepared him for death. Of all those whom it pleased Providence to visit with sickness in the past summer, no one owes a larger debt of gratitude to our reverend friend than the humble individual who now addresses this meeting.'

"Mr. Delap then took a view of religion as it operates on mankind, in their political, civil and domestic relations; adverted to the impression on the minds of men, in all ages, civilized and savage, with respect to the existence of a Supreme Being. "What," said he, "held together the ancient republics of Greece and Rome? RELIGION. 'Our first duties,' said one of their philosophers, 'we owe to the gods, our second to our country, our third to our families.' No nation ever became great or respected, whose political institutions were not based on religion. Does any man deny the being—the existence of God? and consequently a state of future rewards and punishment? And can that man be thoroughly trusted for the honest performance of public duties? He is bound

merely by human laws—these he *may* evade. Look back to the great, the good, the religious men who, in a neighboring Republic, wrested their freedom and independence from one of the most powerful nations in modern times! What was George Washington? A truly religious man. What gave force to the immense military talents he possessed? The consciousness of the justice of his country's cause, and that consciousness based on genuine religion. Let our rulers and our citizens follow the religious example bequeathed to us by the founders of the Republic of the United States of America, and, like that nation, Texas will become great and respected.

"In our civil capacity," said Mr. Delap, "we have already experienced the important advantages of the introduction of a regular form of religious observances. Self respect has been followed by respect for the persons and opinions of our neighbors. The Sabbath day is decently observed. No more drunken broils in our streets. We can meet on 'change, in our social or commercial capacity, without the annoying interference of intoxicated ruffianism. I am proud to hear the approving observation of strangers on our present gentlemanly, orderly, moral and social condition."

Houston.—The Rev. Benjamin Eaton reached Galveston on the 14th of January, 1841,—and has since visited Houston, preaching at both places. He has been elected rector of the parish at each place, and will divide his time for the present between them. He found at Galveston, a Methodist and Presbyterian minister, and two Roman Catholic priests, the latter proposing to build churches at Galveston, Houston and Austin, during the year. The Rev. Mr. Ives has visited Austin, (200 miles inland,) and urges the claims of the capital of Texas upon the attention of the Church, as a missionary station. The corner-stone of the Church at Matagorda was laid, (as stated in a private letter,) with suitable services, on the 14th Oct. Bishop Polk has kindly yielded to the earnest solicitations from Matagorda, and proposes to consecrate the new church, the latter part of March, leaving New Orleans, for that purpose, by the 15th. It may be readily conceived that the occasion will be one of much interest.—*Ib.*

Galveston: Trinity Church. 1843.

We are gratified at being able to announce that the Trinity Church, in this city, which was nearly demolished in the storm of September last, stands again erect, in even more than its original strength and beauty. Our rising city is indebted, for the restoration of this ornament and

honor, to the perseverance and energy of the rector, Rev. Mr. Eaton, seconded by the liberality of his friends, and the friends of the Church in the United States, without which, owing to the depressed circumstances of our own citizens, this now handsome building must have remained, for a long time to come, a ruin to mar the beauty and denote the poverty of the place.—*Galveston City Gazette*.

At a consultation of the undersigned Missionaries, held at Galveston, April 8th, 1843,

Resolved, That all communicants of the Episcopal Church in the United States, or elsewhere, who shall hereafter remove to Texas, be requested to bring satisfactory testimonials of Christian character; and that they enjoyed the confidence of their rectors at the time of their emigration.

We feel constrained to say, that we cannot hereafter admit any emigrant to the communion without such testimonials. We have come to this decision for the protection and welfare of the Church in Texas; and also to save ourselves the mortification to which we have in some instances been already subjected.

Caleb S. Ives.
Benjamin Eaton.
Charles Gillett.

N. B. All the periodicals of the Church are requested to give the above several insertions.

Christ Church, Houston.—Rev. Charles Gillett was ordained Deacon May 22, 1842, and Priest in September, 1842, by Rt. Rev. William Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia. He went to Texas shortly after his ordination. At the time of the organization of the Diocese of Texas in 1849 he was rector of Christ Church, Houston. Prior to that he was carried upon the list of clergy of the Diocese of Virginia as a missionary in Texas. The following reports made by him to the Bishop of Virginia are taken from the Virginia Convention Journals:

Houston, Texas
April 22d, 1844

Right Reverend and Dear Sir,—

Belonging canonically to the Diocese of Virginia, and not being able to report personally at the Convention, I send such statistics as are in my power, and which, I trust, may not prove altogether uninteresting. It is now a little more than a year since I commenced my labors in Houston. On my arrival here, I found the parish had been previously organized by the Rev. Mr. Eaton, and though there were no records, I found after diligent search, fifteen persons who

called themselves Communicants in the Episcopal Church. During my labors here, twelve have been added to the communion—one by removal, two from other denominations, and nine who had not before united with any church, so that my whole number of communicants at this time is twenty-seven. It is worthy of remark, that all who were added, with one exception, are heads of families. At the late visitation of the Bishop, thirteen were confirmed—two of these had left the Presbyterians, and united with our communion, about two years previous. We have truly great cause for thankfulness to Him who is the Lord of the Vineyard, that He has so graciously smiled upon the labors of His unworthy servant, and caused him, even in this barren soil, already to see some fruit of his labor. May He who has begun His good work, carry it on unto perfection, and to Him be all the glory.

I have baptized in this place, and in my visits to the surrounding country, eleven children and one adult. Bishop Polk, during his visit, baptized one adult and two children, making all the baptisms sixteen. I have solemnized the holy rite of matrimony ten times, and been called to attend eleven funerals. Two of the children that I baptized, their parents brought more than sixty miles from the interior on horse-back.

Having no house of our own in which to meet for public worship, we have been unable, as yet, to commence a Sunday School. A number of my communicants are teachers in the Presbyterian School, as that was commenced before I came to the place, and we are permitted to worship in their house. Our having no church is a great drawback upon our prosperity at this time, and we suffer not from any want of willingness on the part of the people here, but because they have not the means to supply their own necessities.

What will be the final result, God alone knows, but our brethren from abroad must aid us, if our beloved Zion takes quickly the stand she ought, and might, if proper means were furnished, in this now young and depressed country, but yet to be rich and flourishing.

Your son in the ministry,
C. Gillett.

(Virginia Convention Journal, 1844, p. 57.)

Galveston, April 4th, 1845.

Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir:

Having been absent much of the past year, my report in regard to my Parish must, of necessity, be not as full or interesting as I could wish.

I had been home but one Sunday when Bishop Freeman paid me a visit. The good seed, before sown, had, I trust, been springing up during my absence, and through God's

blessing I hope may yet bring forth fruit unto perfection. Nine came forward to receive the holy rite of confirmation.

During my absence, two of my communicants died. My present number is thirty-five. After my last report, and previous to my leaving for the United States, there were several baptisms; but being now absent from home, and consequently not able to refer to my record, I cannot tell how many. As yet we have no place in which to meet, though we hope soon to have a temporary room. We expect also, in a short time, to commence a small Church Edifice—what may be our success in completing it, God only knows. During my long and tedious journey for collecting funds to aid in this matter, I secured only twelve hundred dollars in hand. I have promises for something like six hundred more; but I am told by those who have had more experience in such matters than myself, that these promises are like bankrupt debts—that there is no hope of collecting them. Yet I hope God will put it into the hearts of those who have promised to aid us, not to forget us in our time of need. Could our brethren at home know our wants, so as to FEEL their reality, and at the same time, reflect how they would advance the Redeemer's Kingdom, by bestowing of their abundance, and according to their ability, they would not leave us long to suffer for a place in which to meet to worship God. It is discouraging and disheartening, after contending with all the difficulties attendant upon a station in this new country, and our unsettled state of affairs, to find so little feeling among those to whom our wants have been made known. But I have this consolation. I have tried to do my duty. If, at the last, it shall appear that the cause of Christ has suffered in this place, through the indifference or the supineness of Christians, who have known our wants, but refused to supply them, I pray God the sin may not be laid to my charge.

Let me have an interest in your prayers; and, as soon as convenient, let me hear from you.

Very truly, your Son in the Ministry of Jesus,
Charles Gillett.

(Virginia Convention Journal, 1845, p. 58.)

Christ Church, Houston, Texas—Rev. C. Gillett, Rector.

During the past year, there have been baptisms, infants, 11; adults, 8—total, 19; marriages, 6; Communicants added from other cures, 8—total, 50; confirmed, 14; families in the congregation, 55; a Sunday School has been organized in which there are 6 male and 10 female teachers. A house has been purchased and removed to serve the double purpose of a temporary place of worship and a school.

A male and female department of a school has been opened, in both of which there are about 50 scholars.

The walls of a brick Church have been erected, 60 by 35, at an expense of about four thousand dollars, raised mostly among the congregation.

A class of servants,* from 20 to 25, has been formed for weekly oral instruction—taught by the Rector.

(Virginia Convention Journal, 1846, p. 70.)

**i. e.*, *Negroes*.

NOTES ON THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

Compiled by the Editor

1785. DIOCESE OF NEW YORK.

At its recent meeting the diocese of New York appointed a special committee to form plans for the 150th anniversary of the organization of the diocese, which took place in 1785. The Journal of that Convention reads as follows:

PROCEEDINGS
OF A
CONVENTION
OF
THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK:
HELD IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22ND,
1785.

PRESENT:

From Trinity Church, New York, the Reverend Samuel Provoost,* the Reverend Mr. Beach, Reverend Mr. Moore† Honourable James Duane, Marinus Willet, and John Alsop, Esquires.

From the united parishes of Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing, on Long Island, the Reverend Mr. Bloomer, Mr. Charles Crommeline, Mr. Daniel Kissam, Mr. Joseph Burrows, Mr. John Johnson.

From Staten Island, the Reverend Mr. Rowland, and Paul Micheau, Esquire.

From New Rochelle, Mr. Andrew Fowler.

From Ulster and Orange counties, Mr. Joseph Jarvis.

From Dutchess county, Mr. John Davis.

The Reverend Mr. Provoost was elected President, and the Reverend Mr. Moore, Secretary.

**First Bishop of New York.*

†*Second Bishop of New York.*

The State Convention having associated agreeably to the recommendation of the General Convention held in this city on the 6th and 7th of October, 1784, proceeded to take into consideration the matters recommended by the said General Convention; thereupon

Resolved, That three Clerical and three Lay Deputies be appointed to represent the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, in the General Convention which is to be held at Philadelphia on the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next; and that any one or more of each order form a quorum.

Resolved, That the Reverend Mr. Provoost, Reverend Mr. Beach, and Reverend Mr. Moore, of the Clergy; and the Honourable James Duane, Daniel Kissam, and John Davis, Esquires, of the Laity, be appointed for the above mentioned purpose; and they are hereby authorized to proceed on the necessary business which may be proposed for their deliberation at the said Convention, so far as they conform to the general principles which are established to regulate their conduct in this matter.

Resolved, That the President be requested to call another Convention, at such a time and place as he shall deem most conducive to the interest of the Church.

- End of the First Sitting.

1786. LETTER OF REVEREND SAMUEL PROVOOST, D. D.

Letters of Bishop Provoost are very rare. The one here reproduced is in the Collection of the Washington Cathedral. It deals with the "Proposed" Book of Common Prayer which was drawn up at the General Convention of 1785 and "recommended" to the churches. As compared with the English Prayer Book which had been in use in the American colonies, there were some very drastic changes which met with the disapproval not only of the Anglican episcopate, but also of the churches in America. The letter of Dr. Provoost sheds an interesting light upon the objections to the "Proposed" Book, and indicates that political considerations played a part in the situation. The Letter is as follows:

"*Dr. Sir,*

I was informed a few days ago by three different Gentlemen that they had just seen a Box directed to me at the Elizabeth Town Ferry House in this City and in consequence of this information have at length got the first parcel of

prayer books. I sincerely believe the threatning has been of avail in this case as well as the former.— Such a strong party has been raised against the Alterations that I am afraid we should not be able to adopt the Book at present without danger of a Schism—the ostensible objection is that they were made without the sanction of a Bishop. but the thanksgiving for the fourth of July in all probability is the principle cause of the opposition.—the sale of the books has been very dull—only thirteen have been disposed of—Mr. Ogden has given you an account of the extraordinary proceedings at Perth Amboy—I flatter myself our Convention in this State will be influenced by a more liberal & christian spirit.

I am Dr. Sir with the most sincere regard
your affectionate Brother & Humble Serv^{vt}
Sam^l Provo'st

N. York
May 4th, 1786.

MISSOURI.

[For the Episcopal Recorder.]

St. Louis, April 23, 1860.

Messrs. Editors:—Enclosed you will find an account of the laying of the corner-stone of the new Christ Church (Episcopal) which took place on yesterday, feeling assured from your zeal in the Episcopal cause, that it will find a place in your much esteemed paper. The discourse of our Bishop was listened to with great attention, at the conclusion, Gloria in Excelsis was chanted, a prayer offered and the congregation dispersed. The grounds of the church are in a most pleasant locality. The building itself when completed, will be an ornament to the city in point of architectural beauty, and morally the church will be, as it ever has been, an honor and a lasting glory. The work in this city (where Popery is rampant in all its enormity) goes bravely on. The Trinity Church (Episcopal), Dr. Hutchinson, a very handsome edifice located corner of 11th and Washington Avenue, will be completed next October, in the meantime the Rev. Dr. has gone a traveling. The congregation of the Calvary Church (Free Episcopal), Rev. Jno. Clark, who have been worshipping in Verandah Hall for some time, have recently bought a lot to build on immediately, the location, corner of 8th and Morgan streets, is an excellent one, could not be better. So you see we are steadily going onward in the good cause of our Master in the Mound City.

Yours^o truly,
H. W. G.

LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF CHRIST CHURCH— INTERESTING CEREMONIES, ETC.

The ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of Christ Church, at the corner of Thirteenth and Locust streets, took place yesterday afternoon, commencing at 4 o'clock. Long before the appointed hour, an assemblage numbering at least two thousand was on the ground, and before the services commenced there were upwards of three thousand persons present, all of whom paid the silent homage of profound attention to the unusually interesting and important exercises of the occasion. The heat was so intense, from the incessant rays of the sun, that it would have been impossible under ordinary circumstances to keep such a large concourse together for the same length of time.

At half-past four o'clock the clergy and vestrymen led by Alfred Mackay, Esq., appeared in procession, and mounted a platform erected for their accommodation, directly over the spot upon which the altar of the new church will be placed. Bishop Hawkes conducted the ceremonies, and assisted by the Rev. Montgomery Schuyler, D. D., rector of Christ Church; Rev. Francis J. Clerc, of Grace Church; Rev. E. F. Berkeley, of St. George's Church; Rev. John Coleman, D. D., of St. John's Church; Rev. R. E. Terry, of St. Paul's; Rev. E. C. Hutchinson, of Trinity Church.

The exercises commenced by singing the 115th Select Hymn, commencing:

"We build with fruitless cost unless
The Lord the pile sustain."

After which, the Rt. Rev. Bishop read selections from the 122d Psalm: "I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the House of the Lord," etc. The following from the Episcopal form of consecration, was then read by the officiating clergyman:

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN: It is decent and proper, and agreeable to the precept and examples of the Holy Writ, that in all our doings we should beseech Almighty God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, to direct us with his most gracious favor, and to further us with continual help. Especially, therefore, when we are now assembled to commence a house which is set apart to his honor and service, and in which his holy name is to be worshipped, and his words and sacraments to be proclaimed and celebrated by the minister whom he hath commissioned, let us humbly and devoutly supplicate his assistance, protection and blessing.

After a prayer by one of the reverend gentlemen, the Rev. Dr. Schuyler read the list of articles to be deposited in the new corner-stone.

The Bishop then struck the stone three times with a hammer, and repeated the following:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. I lay the corner-stone of an edifice to be here erected by the name of Christ Church, and to be devoted to the service of Almighty God, agreeable to the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in its doctrines, ministry, liturgy, rites and usages.

Other foundation no man can lay than that which is laid, even Jesus Christ, who is God over all, blessed for evermore; and in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. Amen.

A Psalm was repeated by the congregation, after which Bishop Hawkes proceeded to address the large audience, in his wonted eloquent and forcible manner. He dwelt, at length, upon the rapid progress made by the Church, not in St. Louis alone, but in the entire Union, and claimed that it had always gone hand in hand with civilization and material progress of every people. This was the third corner-stone that had been laid by the congregation of Christ Church. The first was at the corner of Third and Chestnut streets, a small building and a plain one, but one suited to the times and condition of the people for whom it was constructed. The second—a large and more costly edifice—was erected in the year 1837, but the increasing membership rendered it necessary to provide more ample accommodation, and the present site was selected. The eloquent gentleman then alluded to the idea entertained by some that the outlay of money to adorn a church, even to a limited degree, was extravagance. While he was opposed to any unnecessary expenditure, or to anything really gaudy in a church edifice, he thought every Christian man should condemn the display of niggardliness in the construction of an edifice to last for years and years.

Did time and space permit, we should be happy to give the remarks of the learned divine in full. The reputation enjoyed by the Bishop is a sufficient guarantee to our readers that the address was suited to the occasion. After singing by the choir, the congregation dispersed.

1866. LETTER OF THE RT. REV. BISHOP JOHN JOHNS OF VIRGINIA
ON THE CHURCH AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The following letter was written by Rt. Rev. John Johns, Bishop of Virginia, to the Rev. John T. Clark, living at that time in Halifax County, Virginia. Mr. Clark, like quite a number of other ministers of Virginia, devoted the greater part of his ministry prior to the War

Between the States to work among the negroes. Living on his own plantation in Halifax County, he had a large field of ministry among the negroes and was unusually successful in his work. As the result of the general poverty in the South of the Reconstruction period, he was compelled to give up this work and take a parish. He was the rector of Epiphany Church, Leakesville, North Carolina, at the time of his death.

The letter of Bishop Johns deals with the problem of the negro, which was so serious a one at that time and for many years thereafter.—*G. MacLaren Brydon.*

Theol. Sem.^y P. O. Fairfax County

Jan^y. 17, 1866

Rev. & Dear Bro.

On New Years Day I was called to Baltimore on account of the illness of Mrs. Mason. I am thankful to say she has been so far restored as to relieve our anxiety.

Your letter of the 29th ult.^o came during my absence which will explain why it has not been answered before.

I know the interest you have felt in the instruction of the colored people—the persevering efforts you have made for their improvement & the unusual measure of success which attended your labors. Your long experience in ministering for them, entitles your opinion in reference to the proper policy at present, to great weight. Before receiving your letter I had replied pretty much in the same strain to the circular from the freedmens commission. I assured the committee of our sincere solicitude for the physical, moral & religious improvement of their proteges—& of our readiness to cooperate in any proper measures for their benefit—that their new relations had been affected so suddenly & the position in which they were then placed is so new & anomalous that it is impossible for us to form an impromptu opinion as to their management on which we c^d rely sufficiently to communicate it as counsel to others & as to cooperation, I believed the colored people to be for the present so suspicious of us that any scheme we might originate for their benefit w^d fail to find favor with them & any action by us for their advancement w^d prejudice it with the great majority of them. That all, therefore, I could say to the com: was—come & see—we will furnish you with every facility for obtaining such accurate information as is necessary to form a correct judgement & determine on the wisest measures—*come & see for yourselves* & we will render every assistance in our power. I do not think they fancy *this mode of proceeding*. If they rely on *salaried agents*—both will be *deceived*. Their beneficiaries will lead them to believe they will all soon become saints & sages, to the great encouragement of their benefactors—but a very brief ex-

periment will sadly reverse such brilliant prospects, &, with the grievous disappointment, will come a kind & degree of dissatisfaction which, if the *experimenters* are not saints, may tempt them to join the soldiers in damning the negroes & throwing them back on their former masters both for instruction & support! Happy shall I be to find myself mistaken. One thing I am resolved on—to do all in my power to further the important enterprise, that if it fail, we may not be in fault.

To your own plan for usefulness among your tenants I can see no (illegible) to you an interesting field of usefulness. As to Prayer Books, I will order some to be sent from N. York for your use—to the care of Rev. Dr. Woodbridge.

Mrs. Johns is in Norfolk & Julia in Baltimore or they wd join me in most affectionate regards to Mrs. Clark & yourself. I wrote to Mrs. Foster last month. Ask her if she rec^d my letter.

Bishop Elliott* informs me that his diocese and self have withdrawn from the Ch. in the late Conf. States & joined the Ch. in the U. States.

Yours truly,
J. Johns.

To
Rev. J. T. Clark.

CALIFORNIA: CONSECRATION OF GRACE CHURCH

San Francisco, May 3, 1868.

The Bishop consecrated Grace church, San Francisco, on Sunday, May 3d. The floral decorations of the beautiful building were superb. On the wall at the main entrance a magnificent cross, of huge proportions, composed entirely of white roses, arrested the attention and attracted the admiration of all. Garlands, wreaths, bouquets, and crosses, were lavishly displayed in pews, on font, chancel, and pulpit; the flowers, both wild and cultivated, were arranged in exquisite taste, by the lady members of the parish. A few minutes past 11 o'clock, the procession, which formed in the schoolroom in the basement of the church, entered the main door on Stockton street, in the following order: First, the Bishop; second, the clergy; third, the vestries of Grace, Trinity, Advent, S. James's, S. John's, S. Luke's, and S. Peter's churches of this city; and representatives from S. John's, Oakland; S. Peter's, Redwood City; Calvary, Santa Cruz; and the Episcopal church of Benicia. As the procession moved up the broad aisle, the 24th Psalm was read. The Bishop passed to the further side of the chancel, while

*Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., Bishop of Georgia, 1841-66.

the clergymen occupied the chancel and sedilia. The vestries took seats before the chancel. Besides the Bishop, the ministers taking part in the services were the Rev. Dr. Breck, missionary and Dean of S. Augustine College in Benicia; Revs. Bush, rector of Grace; Easton, assistant rector of Grace; Wyatt, rector of Trinity; and Lowry, assistant rector of the same parish; Lathrop, of the Church of the Advent; Eagan, of S. James's; Barstow, of S. Luke's; Chapin, of Grass Valley; and the Rev. Dr. Clark, formerly of Grace church in this city. There were also present, but not officiating, the Rev. Mr. Chase, of the United States Army, and nephew of Chief Justice Chase; Hume, of Redwood City; and Gray, of Santa Clara. The services commenced by the reading of the instrument of donation, and presentation thereof to the Bishop, by William Blanding, senior warden. The consecration services then proceeded according to the form in the Prayer Book. After a beautiful anthem, the "Sentence of Consecration" was read by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt. The Rev. Dr. Breck then read the Morning Prayer. The Rev. Mr. Lowry next read the First Lesson, after which the choir chanted the *Te Deum* in an exceedingly effective manner. The Second Lesson was read by the Rev. Mr. Barstow, the Litany by the Rev. Mr. Chapin, and the ante-Communion by the Bishop. The Rev. Dr. O. Clark read the Gospel, and the Bishop preached the sermon.

At the conclusion the Bishop announced that a collection would be made for S. Luke's church, a mission of Grace. This parish needed moneys to complete a neat and commodious edifice in the presidio quarter of the town. Whilst the collection was being made Mr. Easton read the offertory sentences. The amount collected for the infant church was in the neighborhood of \$250. Prayer for the Church Militant was next offered by the Rev. Mr. Lathrop, and the Consecration Prayer by the Bishop. These services concluded, a portion of the great audience dispersed, but some three hundred remained to partake of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Communion was administered by Revs. Wyatt, Lathrop, Eagan, Easton, and Lowry. The Benediction was pronounced by the Bishop.

At 4 o'clock the Bishop administered the sacred rite of Confirmation to thirty-four persons. Another large audience witnessed these solemn services.

The music throughout the exercises of the day, both vocal and instrumental, has seldom been equaled in this city for beauty and effectiveness.

In the evening, the Rev. Mr. Barstow, of S. Luke's church, preached an excellent sermon, and so ended the brightest day in the annals of Grace church of San Francisco.—*Alta California*, 1868.

THE ARCHIVES OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION

FOR several years the Archives of the General Convention were housed in the Church Missions House, New York City. The facilities were very inadequate and the building was not fireproof.

In 1931 the General Convention authorized, as a temporary arrangement, the transfer of the Archives to the New York Historical Society. That Society undertook to repair the manuscripts; prepare a catalogue and afford historical students free access to their examination under proper safeguards. It also agreed to provide photostatic copies at reasonable cost. The agreement expressly provides it restore to the Church the entire set of Archives when so required by the General Convention.

For the benefit of students of the history of this Church a list of the books and documents is appended:

1. The Right Rev. William White Manuscripts, 1707-1835, in six volumes.
2. The Rev. William Smith Manuscripts, 1717-1800, in four volumes.
3. Bishop John Henry Hobart Manuscripts, 1757-1830.
4. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters, LL. D., Manuscripts, 1772-1822, in 18 volumes.
5. The Right Rev. John S. Ravenscroft Manuscripts, 1817-1830, in four volumes.
6. Transcripts of documents relating to the Protestant Episcopal Church in America made by the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, in 17 folio volumes, as follows:
 - Virginia, 1650-1793, 1 volume
 - Massachusetts, 1660-1785, 2 volumes
 - Church General, 1675-1755, 1 volume
 - Pennsylvania, 1680-1778, 2 volumes
 - New York, 1699-1782, 2 volumes
 - New Jersey, 1700-1782, 1 volume
 - Rhode Island, 1702-1800, 1 volume
 - South Carolina, 1702-1770, 2 volumes
 - North Carolina, 1703-1812, 1 volume
 - Delaware, 1705-1782, 1 volume
 - Connecticut, 1706-1779, a volume

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, 1711-1779,
1 volume.

Georgia and Florida, 1737-1782, 1 volume.

7. A box containing miscellaneous manuscripts of Dr. Hawks, Bishop Parker and Bishop Inglis, and other papers.
8. One folio volume containing information relating to the Danish Church and Clergy, dated 1826.

A more detailed catalogue will be published in a later issue of this Magazine.

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OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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No. 3

SAMUEL PROVOOST FIRST BISHOP OF NEW YORK

By E. Clowes Chorley

II

THE episcopate of Bishop Provoost is noteworthy for the beginnings of missionary work on the far-flung frontiers of the State of New York. The first settlement in the new country west of Albany was made in 1784, when Hugh White, of Middletown, Connecticut, established a home at the mouth of the Sanquoit Creek. About the same time James Dean and Jedidiah Phelps settled near Fort Stanwix (Rome). Three years later there were scattered families where Syracuse, Auburn and Geneva now stand.*

The first attempt to carry the Church to the new settlers appears to have been made by the Rev. Thomas Ellison of Albany. Under date of May 9, 1789, he wrote Bishop Provoost, saying:

"In January last I made an extensive journey, and christened twelve children; and had I been able to have spent a fortnight longer in the excursion, I suppose I should have christened at least forty. The distance I went was one hundred and twelve miles, a journey of four days, through a very wild country, which afforded most uncomfortable accommodations; but it afforded me a very high degree of pleasure to find that many of our Church were scattered throughout, who would not relinquish the hope of being able at some, though perhaps a distant period, to see churches established. I found that many of them had got children christened by ministers of other churches, despairing of the opportunity which my visit afforded, and, as I promised them to make a second visit during the summer, if I remain here, and should I find that I could afford to do so, I have

*Hayes: *Diocese of Western New York*, pg. 15.

not a doubt that many will be offered to receive that Institution.”*

In 1796 the diocese adopted a Canon creating a “Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Propagating the Gospel in the State of New York.” The committee consisted of three clergymen and three laymen, with the Bishop as chairman. The Canon further provided that “the ministers of this Church are hereby required and enjoined in the month of September each year to preach a sermon and make a collection in their respective congregations for carrying this laudable plan into effect, and to transmit the sums collected to the Treasurer, who shall be appointed by the Committee.”†

The first missionary sent out to prosecute this new work was the Rev. Robert G. Wetmore, who was ordered deacon by Bishop Provoost on May 21, 1797. Prior to his ordination he had been a lay delegate from the church at New Rochelle to the diocesan convention, and had forsaken the practice of the law for the ministry. His commission as a missionary was dated May 25th, and ran as follows:

“Be it known by these Presents that the bearer hereof, the Reverend Robert G. Wetmore, a Deacon of the Protestant Episcopal Church, has been engaged and employed by the Committee of the Protestant Ep. Church for propagating the Gospel in the State of New York. As a missionary with authority to preach, to administer the sacrament of baptism, and to solemnize the matrimonial and funeral offices, and it is hereby recommended to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in all parts of this State where he may offer his services, to receive and respect him in the aforesaid character. Signed in the name and on behalf of the Committee in the City of New York, on the twenty-fifth day of May in the year of our Lord 1797.

Samuel Provoost,
Bp. of the Prot. Epis. Ch., N. Y.,
and Chairman of Committee,
J. Bessett, Secy.

Mr. Wetmore appears to have immediately started upon his work, for at the Convention held in October his letters and journal were read and approved. Unfortunately, this invaluable contribution to the early history of missionary work in the State has disappeared. Some precious gleanings, however, have been garnered by Hayes in his *History of the Diocese of Western New York*, who writes:

*Hooper: *History of St. Peter's, Albany*, pgs. 140-1.

†*Journal*, 1796, pg. 81.

"From other sources we learn that Mr. Wetmore went in the fall of 1797 to Canandaigua, where he received from some of its earliest settlers, such as Judge Moses Atwater and the Sanborn family, sturdy Connecticut Churchmen, the same hearty welcome which they gave a year later to his successor. In December he is on a visit to the Oneidas at their 'Castle,' baptizing 24 of them; thence to Bridgewater, Oneida County, where he hears of some churchmen at Paris Hill, and sets out before daylight for that place. There his work had been anticipated by the organization on the 13th day of February, 1797, of St. Paul's Church, the first in the present diocese of Western New York."*

Further light is shed on the labors of Mr. Wetmore by his successor, Philander Chase, who writes:

"Two missionaries were successively employed, who traveled in the remote and unsettled parts, and visited the vacant parishes throughout the State. The first of them, the Rev. Robert G. Wetmore, traveled 2,386 miles; performed divine service and preached 107 times; baptized 46 adults and 365 children, and distributed among the indigent and deserving a number of copies of the Book of Common Prayer. To learn what this good, pious man did by his ministrations throughout the State, one must travel where he traveled, and converse with those with whom he conversed. The benefits arising to the Church of Christ and to individuals were apparently many and great. He exhorted the indolent, comforted the desponding, and awakened the careless; in short, he so roused the people from their lethargy, and excited them to a sense of their religious duties, that in the year following there were incorporated in the State seven new congregations, and divine service began to be performed in many places where people had never attempted it before."†

One year's such arduous work so impaired Mr. Wetmore's health that he retired to the parochial care of Schenectady and Duanesburgh. He was afterwards compelled to move to the South, and died at Savannah, Georgia, in 1803.

A successor was found in the person of Philander Chase, who graduated from Dartmouth in 1795. Brought up a Congregationalist, he determined to enter the ministry of the Episcopal Church. The nearest clergyman to his home was the Rev. Thomas Ellison of Albany, and to him Chase wended his way, walking from Claremont, New Hampshire. He had no letter of introduction "and still further to depress his feelings, had but one crown of money in his pocket."

*Hayes: *History of the Diocese of Western New York*, pg. 17.

†*Reminiscences of Philander Chase*, Vol. I, pg. 37.

Nothing daunted, he set out on the long journey, and thus describes his meeting with Mr. Ellison:

"Having passed Market, he entered Court Street, and stopping at Wendel's Hotel, inquired, 'Where lives the Rev. Thomas Ellison, the Episcopal clergyman?' 'What, the English Dominie?' replied a friendly voice, 'you will go up State Street—pass the English stone church, which stands in the middle of that street, and as you go up the hill, turn the second corner to the right; and there lives the English Dominie, the Rev. Mr. Ellison, in a newly built white house, the only one on the block or clay bank.' It was indeed just so; and the writer mounted the plank door-step, and with a trembling hand knocked at the door of the rector of St. Peter's, Albany. 'Is this the Rev. Mr. Ellison?' said the writer, as the top of the Dutch built door was opened by a portly gentleman in black, with prominent and piercing eyes and powdered hair. 'My name is Ellison,' said he, 'and I crave yours.' Giving his name, the writer said, 'I have come from New Hampshire, the place of my nativity, and being very desirous of becoming a candidate for Holy Orders, I will be much obliged for your advice.' Mr. Ellison then said, 'God bless you; walk in.' ""*

Through the influence of Mr. Ellison young Chase was appointed a teacher in the city school of Albany at a salary of four hundred dollars per annum. The first Sunday he conducted services at Troy, where all the denominations met in one house, each having in turn its own form of service. On the 10th of May, 1798, he was ordered Deacon by Bishop Provoost in St. George's Chapel, New York, Mr. Wetmore being priested at the same service.

No mention of Chase's missionary work appears in the Journal, because there was no meeting of the Convention for three years. Happily, the outline of that work was preserved by Chase himself, and published in his *Reminiscences*. When he began there were few clergymen north of Westchester County. Mr. Sayers was just leaving Poughkeepsie; Mr. Ellison was at Albany; John Urquhart at Johnstown and Mr. Wetmore at Schenectady. Chase made his way to Albany by Sloop, and after a detour to Lake George, set his face towards Utica, which he found to be a small hamlet with the "stumps of the forest trees standing thick and sturdy in the streets." There he lingered long enough to organize Trinity Church, and then pressed on to Canajoharie, where he preached in the dilapidated church and found the Oneidas and the Mohawks "now dwelling together in peace." The new parish at Paris Hill he found had been kept together by lay readers. Where Syracuse now stands there was "a dreary

*Chase: *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, pgs. 19-20.

salt marsh dotted with a few huts of the salt burners who carried on their work in winter." At Herdenberg's Corners (now Auburn) he was welcomed by the Bostwicks, a church family from Massachusetts, and steps were taken to organize St. Peter's Church. The journey westward ended at Avon, on the Genesee River, "there being then no road to the west except an Indian trail, uninhabited even to the Niagara River." On this missionary journey Chase traveled about 4,000 miles, baptized 14 adults and 319 infants, preached 313 times and distributed many Prayer Books, Catechisms and Tracts. On his way he organized a parish at Batavia, and visited the scattered church folk at Lebanon Springs, Athens, Hudson and in Putnam County, as well as Father Nash in Otsego County. In the autumn of 1799 he was ordained priest by Bishop Provoost in St. George's Chapel, New York, and settled as rector of the united churches of Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, in the county of Dutchess. Thus were laid the foundations of that missionary work in the State which was destined to develop under the fostering care of Bishop Benjamin Moore and the inspiring leadership of Bishop John Henry Hobart.

As, has been noted, there was no meeting of the Convention of the diocese of New York in the years 1798, 1799 and 1800. The reason we do not know, save that in 1798 there was a widespread fever which prevented the General Convention from holding its stated meeting.

There are, however, underlying indications that Bishop Provoost was developing a desire to withdraw from public life. The records of the Corporation of Trinity Church show that, on the 8th of September, 1800,

"It having been represented by Dr. Charlton as the wish of the Bishop to resign his office as Rector of this Corporation at some future period,—*Resolved* that his resignation be accepted whenever he chuses to relinquish the office, and that he be allowed one thousand dollars yearly during his life, to commence from the time of his resignation."*

He appears to have waited for the election of John Henry Hobart as Assistant Minister, which was done on August 11th. Accordingly, in November, the Bishop took steps to consummate his retirement. On the 9th of that month provision was made to continue his salary as Rector until the following first of August, and that he should have the use of the house for one year. On the 22nd of December Dr. Provoost formally presented his resignation in the following terms:

**Dix: History of Trinity Parish, Vol. II, pg. 167.*

"In the Name of God, Amen. I, Samuel Provoost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York and Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York, before you, the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of said Church and in the presence of credible witnesses here present, for certain just and lawful causes me and my mind hereunto specially moving without compulsion, fear, fraud, or deceit; Do purely, simply and absolutely give up the said Rectory of the Parish of Trinity Church; and my office of Rector in the Corporation of 'The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York,' by whatsoever Name the said Rectory may be most properly known and distinguished, and also the said Church with all the Rights, Members and Appurtenances thereunto belonging unto the hands of you the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen the Patrons thereof; with all my Right, Title, and Possession of, in, and to the same. I quit, cede, and renounce them and expressly recede from them by these Presents. In witness thereof whereof I, the said Samuel Provoost, have hereunto set my hand and seal the twenty-second day of December in the Year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred."*

This formidable document, duly executed, completed the act of resignation and it is recorded that the Rector "took his leave of the Board in the most affectionate manner." There seems to have been a combination of reasons for this and his subsequent action. The death of Mrs. Provoost, in August, 1799, after a long illness, was a great blow to the Bishop; added to this—Norton says—"In the ensuing July, he followed to the grave his younger and favourite son, who came to a most distressing end, while his cup of misery was filled to the brim by the conduct of his only surviving son."†

What is described in the Journal as a "Special Convention," convened at the request of the Bishop, met in Trinity Church on September 3rd, 1801. Immediately after organization, the following minute is recorded:

"The Right Reverend the Bishop Provoost addressed the Convention, and resigned his Episcopal jurisdiction of this diocese."‡

The Convention thereupon appointed a committee to "consider and report what measures are necessary to be pursued in the present position of this Church." The following day the committee reported thus:

**Dix: History of Trinity Parish, Vol. II, pgs. 169-70.*

†*Norton: Life, pgs. 165-66.*

‡*Journal, 1801, pg. 90.*

"The Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, D. D., having declared that he resigned his jurisdiction of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, and having expressed his affectionate wishes for the prosperity of the Church in general, and the individual members of the Convention,

"*Resolved*, That the Convention return their thanks to the Bishop for his kind wishes, and whilst they regret that he should have judged himself under the necessity of quitting so suddenly the exercise of the Episcopal office, and those solemn and important duties which are connected with it, they beg leave to assure him of their sincere and fervent prayers that Divine Providence may so guide and govern him in all his ways, as will most conduce to his temporal and eternal felicity."*

The General Convention was about to meet, and to Bishop White, as President of the House of Bishops, Provoost addressed the following letter:

New York, Sept. 7, 1801.

"*Right Rev. and Dear Sir,*

I think it my duty to request that, as President of the House of Bishops, you will inform that venerable body, that, induced by ill health, and some melancholy occurrences in my family, and an ardent wish to retire from all public employment, I resigned at the last meeting of our Church Convention my jurisdiction as Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York.

I am with great regard, dear and right rev. sir,
Your affectionate brother,
Samuel Provoost."

"Right Rev. Bishop White."

It should be carefully noted that in the letter as originally written the words, "my office of bishop," appeared. They were then crossed out and the letter left as above.

This was the first time in the brief constitutional history of this Church that the problem of an Episcopal resignation of jurisdiction called for definite action. It proved to be a very troublesome problem, as it did again in 1832, when Bishop Philander Chase so abruptly abandoned his jurisdiction in Ohio. On the second day of the General Convention the following message was sent by the Clerical and Lay deputies to the Bishops: "The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies wish to know from the House of Bishops whether they have received any communication from Bishop Provoost, on the subject of his resignation of his Episcopal jurisdiction in the State of New York."

The bishops had received such a communication, and were perplexed to know what to do with it, and the more so, because the

**Journal, 1801, pgs. 90-91.*

diocese of New York had proceeded to fill the vacancy by the election of Benjamin Moore. The Journal has the following record:

"The House of Bishops having considered the subject brought before them by the letter of Bishop Provoost, and by the message from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, touching the same, can see no grounds on which to believe that the contemplated resignation is consistent with ecclesiastical order, or with the practice of Episcopal Churches in any ages, or with the tenor of the Office of Consecration. Accordingly, while they sympathize most tenderly with their brother Bishop Provoost, on account of that ill health, and those melancholy occurrences which have led to the design in question, they judge it to be inconsistent with the sacred trust committed to them, to recognize the Bishop's act as an effectual resignation of his Episcopal jurisdiction. Nevertheless, being sensible of the present exigencies of the church in New York, and approving of their making provision for the actual discharge of the duties of the Episcopacy, the Bishops of this house are ready to consecrate to the Office of Bishop any person who may be presented to them with the requisite testimonials from the General and State Conventions, and of whose religious, moral, and literary character, due satisfaction may be given. But this House must be understood to be explicit in their declaration, that they shall consider such person as assistant or co-adjutor Bishop during Bishop Provoost's life, although competent, in point of character, to all the Episcopal duties; the extent in which the same shall be discharged by him, to be dependent on such regulations as expediency may dictate to the Church in New York, grounded on the indisposition of Bishop Provoost, and with his concurrence."*

The following day Moore's testimonials were presented to the House of Bishops and arrangements made for his consecration.

In view of subsequent bitter controversy, the text of the resolution of the House of Bishops is of great importance. Certain things are clear. The Bishops refused definitely to accept the proffered resignation of Bishop Provoost. They consented to meet the situation in New York by the consecration of another person, but expressly provided that during Provoost's life he should be assistant or co-adjutor, competent to exercise the functions of the Episcopate in that diocese as expedience dictated, but always with the *concurrence* of the diocesan. Had the Bishops acted consistently, there would have been no difficulty. Unfortunately, they did not so act. The official Certificate of Moore's consecration shows that "they rightly and canonically . . . consecrate . . . into the office of

**Journal, 1801 (Perry edition), pgs. 272-3.*

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York" the said Benjamin Moore. Hence, New York had at one and the same time two diocesan bishops.

Bishop Provoost immediately went into retirement and took no official part in the services of the Church for ten years. In 1811 the diocese elected an Assistant Bishop, John Henry Hobart. It was found difficult to secure the presence of the three bishops necessary for the consecration of Hobart and Griswold. So much so, that Bishop White says it was "feared that the American Church would be subjected again to the necessity of having recourse to the mother Church for the Episcopacy, or else of continuing it without requiring the canonical number."* Under these circumstances Bishop Provoost, although in ill health, consented to make an effort to take part in the service. Norton gives a vivid account of the consecration:

"The immense congregation there assembled was very generally deeply impressed with the solemnity and importance of the crisis. It was probably, as it turned out to be, the last time that three of the then Bishops could be assembled. When it was ascertained that Bishop Provoost had actually arrived at the church, there was a thrill of emotion throughout the assemblage. '*He's come!*' '*Thank God!*' were audibly whispered ejaculations. He remained in the Vestry room until the close of Morning Prayer. It was the original expectation and intention that he should continue there until after the sermon, and enter the chancel in time to unite with Bishop Jarvis in presenting the Bishops-elect to Bishop White. Feeling, however, able to join the other Bishops at an earlier period, and to take part in the ante-communion service, and particularly desirous of once more hearing a sermon from his old friend, Bishop White, he entered the church after the close of Morning Prayer. He read the Epistle. It could be heard, and that with difficulty, by those only who were near the chancel. But the appearance of this venerable man, his visage somewhat marred by Palsy, and discoloured by jaundice, and then seen in public ministration for the first time in nearly ten years, by many who had been of his flock, doubtless produced quite as solemnizing an effect, and this even increased by the difficulty or impossibility of hearing him, as would the most audible, and most rhetorically enunciated, word of the Holy Book."*

The controversy centering around the election of John Henry Hobart as Assistant Bishop of New York will be dealt with in due course. Here we are concerned only with the part played by Bishop Provoost. The leader of the opposition to Hobart was the Rev.

*White: *Memoirs of the Church*, pg. 247.

Cave Jones, one of the Assistant Ministers of Trinity Parish. Mr. Jones was subjected to an act of ecclesiastical discipline by Bishop Moore for stirring up controversy. Mr. Jones and his friends refused to accept the validity of the sentence on the ground that Bishop Moore was not, and never had been, the Bishop of the diocese, having been elected as Assistant Bishop, and therefore had not the power of discipline, save it had the approval of the bishop of the diocese. Jones therefore appealed to Bishop Provoost in the premises, and received from him the following letter:

New York, 5th of Nov., 1811.

"Rev. Sir,

I have examined the documents covered by your letter of this date, purporting to be the proceedings of the Bishop of this diocese and his presbyters; I can only say, that I think these proceedings totally unauthorized by the constitution and canons of our Church, and, so far as I have been able to judge, they are not sanctioned by the principles of our religion or humanity; my advice to you, therefore, is to disregard them.

Rev. Sir, I am, with great respect, and esteem,

Yours sincerely,

Samuel Provoost, D. D.,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, and Diocesan of the same."*

The Rev. Cave Jones.

It will be observed that in the above letter Bishop Provoost is careful to describe himself as "Diocesan."

So matters stood until the time drew near for the assembling of the Diocesan Convention of 1812. The Journal of that Convention contains, as part of its proceedings, the following letter "Addressed to The Rev. Clerical and Lay Members of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York:

"Brethren,

This being the day appointed by our Church for your Convention, I think it proper to address you.

You well know that in the year 1801 I proffered to the State Convention a resignation of my jurisdiction as Bishop of this Diocese, and that immediately afterwards I communicated to the General Convention, then in session at Trenton, information of the step I had taken. For a long time I fully believed that my act of resignation was recognized as effectual. But having some time since become ac-

*This letter is printed in "The Report of the Case between the Rev. Cave Jones and the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New York, &c." New York: Printed by William A. Davis, 1813, pgs. 10-11.

quainted with the proceedings of the State and General Conventions in relation to this subject, and feeling a due respect for the sentiments of the General Convention, so strongly and decisively expressed in the resolution of the House of Bishops of the 7th of September, 1801, I think it my duty to inform you, that though it has not pleased God to bless me with health that will enable me to discharge all the duties of a Diocesan, and for that reason I cannot now attend the Convention; yet I am ready to act in deference to the resolution above mentioned, and to concur in any regulations which expediency may dictate to the Church; without which concurrence I am, after the resolution of the House of Bishops, bound to consider every Episcopal act as unauthorized. With my earnest prayers to Almighty God for the prosperity and peace of our Church, for the spiritual welfare and temporal happiness of all its members,

I am, My dearly beloved Brethren,
Your affectionate Father in God,

Samuel Provoost.

Bishop of the Prot. Epis. Church in the State of
New York, and Diocesan of the same.

New York, 6th Oct., 1812.

The Journal adds, "Whereupon the following resolutions were proposed and considered:

"Whereas by the Constitution of this Church the right of electing the Bishop thereof is vested in, and appertains to the Convention of this State: And whereas the jurisdiction of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church as the Diocesan thereof may be resigned, although the spiritual character or order of the Bishop is indelible; and such resignation, when the same is accepted by the Convention, creates a vacancy in the Office of Diocesan Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State: And whereas the Right Reverend Samuel Provoost, D. D., being then the Diocesan Bishop of said Church in this State, did, on the third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, resign his Episcopal jurisdiction of this Diocese to the Convention of the said Church in this State; and the said Convention did on the next day accept the said resignation, and on the following day proceeded to the choice, by ballot, of a person to succeed the said Diocesan Bishop; and thereupon the Rev. Benjamin Moore, D. D., was unanimously chosen by the Clergy and Laity, and received from them, as Bishop-elect of this Church, the testimonial required by the Canon of the General Convention: And whereas the said Benjamin Moore was, on the eleventh day of the said month of September, rightly and canonically consecrated into the office of Bishop of the said Church, and from that time hath exercised the powers and juris-

diction of Diocesan Bishop in this State: And whereas this Convention hath been given to understand that doubts have been entertained whether the office and jurisdiction of Diocesan Bishop became vacant by the said resignation and acceptance thereof, and whether the said Benjamin Moore was of right the Diocesan Bishop of the said Church in this State by virtue of the election and consecration hereinbefore mentioned: And whereas this Convention hath further understood that since the last Convention the said Bishop Provoost hath assumed, and by his letter read this day in Convention does claim, the title and character of Diocesan Bishop—Now, therefore, in order to obviate the said doubts, and with a view to restore and preserve the peace and order of the Church, this Convention doth hereby resolve and declare,

“That the Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, from and immediately after the acceptance of his resignation by the Convention of the Church in this State, ceased to be the Diocesan Bishop thereof, and could no longer rightfully exercise the functions or jurisdiction appertaining to that office; that having ceased to be the Diocesan Bishop as aforesaid, he could neither resume, nor be restored to that character by any act of his own or of the General Convention, or either of its houses, without the consent and participation of the said State Convention, which consent and participation the said Bishop Provoost has not obtained; and that his claim to such character is therefore unfounded.

“And further this Convention doth declare and resolve, that the spiritual order of Bishop having been canonically conferred upon the said Benjamin Moore, he became thereby, in consequence of the said previous election, *ipso facto*, and of right, the Diocesan Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, and as such, well entitled to all the jurisdiction and pre-eminence belonging to that office, and which have been, and may be, canonically exercised by him personally, or through his co-adjutor, in the said character.

“And this Convention, in their own names, and for the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, do hereby solemnly declare and acknowledge the said Benjamin Moore, and no other person, to be their true and lawful Diocesan Bishop; and that respect and obedience ought of right to be paid to him as such.”*

Stripped of its ponderous legal verbiage this declaration is in direct contradiction to the constitution of the American Church. In every constitutional step taken for the election and consecration of a bishop, the action of a diocese is subject to the consent and approval of the General Convention. The choice of a diocese may, or may not be ratified by the General Convention when in session, or by the

**Journal, 1812, pgs. 236-37.*

Bishops and Standing Committees at other times. "The right of election" by the State Convention" is not questionable, but that election must be approved by the constituted authority of the Church. To say, as this statement does, that the moment Bishop Provoost's resignation of jurisdiction was accepted by the Diocesan Convention, he ceased to be Diocesan Bishop, is obviously incorrect. It did not, and could not be effective, until such resignation was accepted by the House of Bishops. And the House of Bishops, after the most careful deliberation, refused to accept Provoost's resignation of jurisdiction. Their language is most explicit. They judged it "to be inconsistent with the sacred trust committed to them, to recognize the Bishop's act as an effectual resignation." And though, to meet the situation in New York they consented to consecrate Benjamin Moore, it was with the explicit statement that, during the lifetime of Bishop Provoost, they would consider him as "assistant or co-adjutor," and his Episcopal acts were to be subject to the concurrence of the Diocesan. However much the action of Bishop Provoost in reassuming diocesan duties after so long an interval may be regretted, it seems clear from the record of the action of the House of Bishops that he was in fact, and by right, the Diocesan Bishop.

Bishop Provoost appears to have borne this rebuke in a meek and quiet spirit and to have retired once again into private life. He lingered for about four years, and died on September 6, 1815. On the evening of that day the following notice appeared in *The New York Post*:

"Suddenly this morning, in the 73rd year of his age, the Right Reverend Samuel Provoost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York. As among such a number of relations, and so long a list of friends, it is impossible to send particular invitations, without some, tho' involuntary omissions; the friends and relations of the family, and of Mr. Colden,* and generally the friends of the Church, are hereby invited to attend the funeral of the Bishop from his late residence, No. 261 Greenwich Street, tomorrow afternoon at 5 o'clock."

Every mark of respect was shown. Bishop Hobart was absent on a distant visitation of the diocese, but the parish church was draped in mourning. *The Evening Post* of the 11th has the following account of the funeral:

"The funeral of Bishop Provoost took place on Thursday. Owing to the short time for the preparation and notice, arising from the full habit of body in which the Bishop died, the tokens of respect were not such as would otherwise have

*Cadwallader Colden, the Bishop's son-in-law.

been witnessed. Yet as far as information could be imparted, a solicitude was manifested to pay the last sad offices of affectionate regard. All the Episcopal clergy of the city, and some visiting brethren, attended, as did also those of other denominations. The Pall, covered with the Bishop's robes, was borne by the older of the clergy, among whom were some of the Bishop's old acquaintances and friends. In the procession was the Lieutenant Governor, the Judges of the Courts of the United States, the Mayor, the Recorder, and Members of the Corporation, Gentlemen of the Bar, Physicians, and members of the different public bodies with which the deceased had been connected, as the Vestry of Trinity Church, Trustees of the College and of the Charity School, together with an immense number of the members of the Church, as well as of other denominations, who, besides the immediate friends and relations attended out of a deeply implanted and long-standing regard.

"The procession, headed by the children of the Episcopal Charity School, of which Bishop Provoost had for many years been the protecting guardian and friend, moved at 6 o'clock down Greenwich street, up Partition street, and thence down Broadway to Trinity Church. During the whole time the bells in the city were tolled by order of the Corporation. As the procession passed St. Paul's, where the family of the Bishop used to attend divine service, the deep-toned sound of that noble bell, which appeared to be muffled, seemed to speak the sense of his attendants of his former faithful services, as well as a regret for the happy days that are passed, and greatly added to that deep feeling of sorrow which pervaded the attending multitude.

"When the procession arrived at Trinity Church, after a solemn and mournful dirge from the organ, full service was performed. The Psalms and Lessons were read by the Rev. Mr. How;* a sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Harris;† and the funeral service was performed at the interment by the Rev. Mr. Jones.‡ The church was immensely thronged and the effect was deeply solemn and impressive.

"The members present, who had for many years been witnesses of the parochial labours of their departed Rector, bore testimony to the representations of the preacher, when he stated the regular, uniform, unintermitted and conscientious discharge of the duties of the sanctuary, for which the Bishop was remarkable; his amiable, easy, yet dignified deportment, towards all the members of his flock; and especially his charity and kindness to the poor.

"The clergy who had been under his Episcopal jurisdiction bore equal testimony to the representation, of that inflexible integrity, that uniform adherence to principle, that spirit of impartiality, that cool, deliberate judgement

*Rev. Thomas Yardley How, Assistant Minister of Trinity.

†Rev. Dr. William Harris, Rector of St. Mark's Church.

‡Rev. Cave Jones, formerly of Trinity Parish.

in investigating, and that firm, unshaken constancy in executing which appears in every part of Bishop Provoost's administration.

"He sought the happiness of his clergy, as the preacher justly enforced, he studied their comfort; he guarded against any unhappy collisions, or he took the most effective means to heal them. His house ever presented a home to every visiting member of his spiritual family; and they met with a hospitality, and welcome truly affectionate and parental."

At the following diocesan convention Bishop Hobart added his tribute in the stilted language of that day when he said:

"The Right Reverend Bishop Provoost has very recently departed this life. To the benevolence and urbanity that marked all his intercourse with his Clergy, and indeed every social relation, there is strong and universal testimony: and with respect to the manner which marked his official intercourse, there can be no testimony more interesting than that of the venerable Bishop of our Church in Pennsylvania,* who, on a public occasion, several years since, referring to the intimate relation between himself and Bishop Provoost, introduced the sentiment, that 'delegation to the same civil office is a ground on which benevolence and friendly offices may be expected,' and then remarked, 'how much more sacred is a relation between two persons, who, under the appointment of a Christian Church, had been successfully engaged together in obtaining for it the succession of the apostolic office of the Episcopacy who in the subsequent exercise of that Episcopacy, had jointly laboured in all the ecclesiastical business which has occurred among us; and who, through the whole of it, never knew a word, or even a sensation, tending to personal dissatisfaction or disunion.'†

These contemporary judgments should go far towards correcting many misapprehensions which tradition has associated with Bishop Provoost. His somewhat abrupt resignation has overshadowed the great value of his ministerial service. His episcopate can only be fairly judged by the standard of his day. He lived in difficult times as far as the Church was concerned. From the beginning of his ministry and throughout his active episcopate the Church was under suspicion; distrusted, as someone remarked, "as a piece of baggage left behind by the British troops," and the episcopate was distrusted even more than the Church. The early bishops found it necessary to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Prior to 1811 the Church was on the defensive. The consecration of Hobart in that

**Bishop William White.*

†*Journal, 1815, pg. 313.*

year ushered in a new day—the day of aggression. Provoost did not strive or cry; nor was his voice heard in the streets, but he served God and the Church in and according to his day and generation.

Bibliographical Note.—There is only one small Bibliography of Bishop Provoost—*Life of Bishop Provoost*, by John N. Norton (N. Y. Episcopal Sunday School Union and Church Book Society, 1859, pp. 183). Though not very adequate and not free from errors, the author had the advantage of access to the Bishop's private papers which have not since been available. Dr. Berrian's *Historical Sketch of Trinity Church* (New York: Stanford & Swords, 1847) contains a sketch reprinted from *The Churchman*, and written by Cadwallader Colden, son-in-law of the Bishop, with additions by Mr. George Rapelye, p. 197ff. The latter gentleman also contributes an important letter appended to the sketch in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V, p. 240-245 (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1859). President William Duer gives some personal reminiscences of Provoost in his *Reminiscences of an Old New Yorker*, p. 16 (New York: Printed for W. L. Andrews, 1867). *The Centennial History of the Diocese of New York* contains a brief biography from the pen of General James Grant Wilson, p. 127ff (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1886). Valuable material is found in Dr. Morgan Dix's *History of Trinity Parish*; also in the appendices. In the New York Historical Society's *Collections* for 1870 there are reprinted the notices in the New York press relating to Trinity Church from 1730 to 1790. They contain many references to Bishop Provoost. *The Archives of the General Convention*, Vol. II, contain a sketch and a facsimile of the Bishop's letter of resignation. The relations of Seabury and Provoost are treated, from the Seabury point of view, in Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of Bishop Seabury*; also in Perry's *History of the American Church*; and Bishop White's *Memoirs of the Church* (De Costa edition). The early history of missionary work beyond Albany is told in Hayes' *History of the Diocese of Western New York* (Rochester: Scranton, Wetmore & Co., 1905). The early journals of the Convention of the Diocese of New York (1785-1819) were reprinted in 1844 and published by Henry W. Onderdonk, 25 John Street, New York. Bishop Provoost left no printed material.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH IN CHICAGO

Compiled by the Editor

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—In the year 1818 Illinois was admitted to the fellowship of the States having then a population of about fifty thousand.

Five years later an agent of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of this Church was sent out on a prospecting tour in the course of which he visited several places in the lower part of Illinois. In the course of his visit he organized two parishes—St. John's, Albion, and Trinity Church, Alton. Once organized, these two parishes were thrown upon their own resources. They were too poor to maintain a minister, had any such been available, and the Society in New York had no missionaries to send them. So they died aborning.

About 1831 the Rev. L. H. Corson, who had been appointed a missionary to St. Louis, Missouri, visited Edwardsville and Jacksonville, in Illinois. In the former place he found two Episcopal families and expressed the opinion that Illinois was a much more promising field for the Church than Missouri. Jacksonville was made a mission station and a parish was organized there. In 1833 the Rev. John Batchelder, who had been ordered Deacon on July 5th by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern diocese, was appointed missionary at Jacksonville. Arriving at his station on June 22 amid an outbreak of cholera, he found a general disposition to favour Episcopacy, and though the congregation were small, he found no reason for discouragement. In 1834 a parish was organized at Rushville and for a short time was under the care of the Rev. J. C. Richmond of New York.

In 1834 three missionaries were appointed to Illinois by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society—the Rev. Isaac William Hallam to Chicago; the Rev. Henry Tullidge to Galena, and the Rev. James C. Richmond to Rushville and Beardstown. Later in the fall the Rev. Palmer Dyer was appointed to Peoria. In the winter of 1834 there were five clergymen officiating in the state.

On March 9, 1835, the primary convention was held, attended by three clergymen and laymen representing three parishes. After prolonged discussion it was unanimously resolved that "This Convention

do appoint the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D., a bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to the episcopate of Illinois; and that he be and hereby is invited to move into this diocese, and to assume episcopal jurisdiction in the same." At that time Bishop Chase, who had abruptly resigned his jurisdiction in Ohio, was living at Gilead, Michigan, dividing his time between farming and missionary work. He was then fifty-nine years old. The bishop, regarding the call "as entirely providential," accepted it, adding in his letter, "In accepting the appointment to the Episcopate of Illinois, I cannot refrain from mingling with a very deep sense I have of the honor they have done me, the melancholy reflection that the days of my strength and ability to bear the fatigues of planting churches in the new and pathless sections of our country, widely spread and illy provided with temporal comforts, *are forever past*. If, however, it be seen that my labors have not been in vain in the Lord, by their having left on my mind deeply imprinted, salutary lessons, and useful to my future spiritual charge; if by time and experience the *good God* hath mercifully taught me to rely more faithfully on *His* wisdom in discerning the spirits, whether they be of *Him*, and to make a better choice of instruments to promote His glory, and to implore more fervently and constantly the direction and assistance of the Holy Spirit in winning souls to Christ, by turning men from sin to holiness of life, the consoling truth may be yet verified, that God's strength is made perfect in our weakness, and the Messiah's kingdom is advanced even by the infirmities and frailties of his servants."*

There was no precedent in the Church for the action of the diocese of Illinois and the matter received anxious consideration at the General Convention of 1835. A committee recognized that what had taken place was not in complete harmony with the Canons and Constitution, yet did not regard it as of sufficient importance "to invalidate the proceedings." The Convention therefore Resolved, "That the Church of Illinois, under the Episcopate of the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D., be, and hereby is, received and acknowledged as a diocese, in union with the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States."

It was the day of small things for the Church in Illinois. Jacksonville had the only completed church building, though the church in Chicago was in process of erection. Four parishes had a combined list of 39 communicants, and there were just 58 Sunday School scholars. The parochial reports for 1835 show 23 baptisms, 13 confirmations, 3 marriages and 5 burials. No salary was provided for the bishop, nor a home to shelter his family. The bishop reports that he found

*Chase: *Reminiscences*, Vol. II, pgs. 217-8.

"only three or four clergymen, and two of them on the wing, with no permanent support to detain them."*

The visit of Bishop Chase to England and the subsequent founding of Jubilee College, belongs to a later chapter of the Church in Illinois.

During his absence Bishop Jackson Kemper made some visits to Illinois. He reported that at Rushville a wooden church, 26x40, was being erected; that Peoria was "flourishing," and at Mount Pleasant there were enough Episcopalians to erect a place of worship. He added, "The prospects of the Church are yet good, so good that I could in six months locate most usefully sixty clergymen." In that year of 1836 the Rev. E. G. Gear was appointed missionary at Galena, and the Rev. Joseph L. Darrow missionary in Madison and St. Clair Counties. On January 1st Bishop Kemper consecrated the church at Jacksonville, where there were fifteen communicants, and on February 20th he organized the parish of St. Paul's Alton.

Extract from a letter from the Rev. I. W. Hallam, officiating at Chicago.

Nov. 4, 1834. I have been delayed announcing to the Society my arrival at my station until I might have some additional information to give. We left New London on the 1st of September. The prevalence of the cholera in several places through which we must pass, induced us to remain a short time at Stonington, my native town. From thence we started on the 13th of September. After a wearisome journey, we arrived at Chicago the 12th of October, by the blessing of God, in a safe and sound condition. We had been anxiously expected and were warmly and hospitably received.

The Rev. Palmer Dyer† preceded me a few days. The services of the Church were performed for the first time in this district by him, the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, October 12, 1834. He left for Peoria (Peoria) the day after I arrived, which place, I understand, he intends to make his field of Labour. I also saw the Rev. Mr. Selkig,‡ at Niles,

**Reminiscences, Vol. II, pg. 233.*

†The Rev. Palmer Dyer was ordered Deacon by Bishop Brownell of Connecticut on June 6, 1822, and became missionary at Granville, Washington County, in the diocese of New York. Three years later he removed to Hartford, Connecticut to edit the "Episcopal Watchman," published in that city. In 1832 he was missionary at Syracuse, New York, and in 1834 went out to Illinois, where for a short time he was rector of St. Jude's Church, Peoria. He was secretary of the first convention of the diocese of Illinois. He appears to have returned to the diocese of New York and in 1838 was missionary at Whitehall, Washington County.

‡The Rev. James Selkig was ordered Deacon by Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York on September 10, 1829. In 1832 he was missionary at Pompey, Onondago County, N. Y. In the fall of 1834 he was appointed missionary at Niles, Michigan. In the course of his missionary journeys he organized the first parish at Michigan City, Ind.

Michigan. I am informed that he is zealously engaged there in the common cause. He expressed a wish to become a missionary of our Society, and undoubtedly left home with that expectation. The Rev. Mr. Tullidge* arrived in Chicago last week. On Sunday, the 2nd instant, he preached in the afternoon in the Methodist Chapel, and at night in the Presbyterian meeting-house. He expects to leave on Thursday for Galena. May the Lord send us many more like him. My object in writing, is simply to inform you of my arrival, of the organization of a parish, and that a convenient place for our services has been provided, which we expect to occupy on Sunday next—on all these subjects, I shall send a regular account in my quarterly journal. For the present, the Committee may be assured, that they could not have sent a missionary to a place where his labours are more needed or the prospect of success more encouraging.”

(Missionary Record, January, 1835.)

From the Report of the Rev. Mr. Hallam, officiating at Chicago.

“Dec. 1st (1834). I left New London with my family, September 2 On the way I preached once in Syracuse and twice in Detroit. By the divine blessing, we were brought in safety to the end of a long and wearisome journey on the 12th of October. The Rev. Palmer Dyer arrived in Chicago a few days previous. The services of our Church were first performed by him in this district of the country. He preached in the Presbyterian meeting-house, and administered the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper; the Presbyterian minister and the members of his Church, together with the communicants of our own, receiving the communion at his hands; and I gladly bear witness to the Christian liberality and kindness with which we have thus far been treated by ‘all who name the name of Christ.’

Nov. 2nd a parish was duly organized by the name of St. James.

Nov. 9th. We assembled together today, for the first time, as an Episcopal congregation, in a room generously offered by an individual for our use, and conveniently fitted up. I preached several Sundays subsequent to my arrival in the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist meeting-houses. The forms of our Church were regularly observed, and the responses very generally made. Since we have been privileged to have a place of worship that we can call our own, the number attending on our services has been greater than I anticipated. I have not yet ascertained the number of those calling themselves Episcopalians, not deeming it pru-

*The Rev. Henry Tullidge was ordered Deacon by Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, of New York on June 29, 1834, and was immediately appointed missionary at Galena, Ill. After a short ministry there, he returned to New York and became missionary at Seneca Falls, N. Y.

dent to put the question quite yet. It cannot be less than a hundred, and may be a hundred and fifty. Neither have I as yet formed a Church, but I expect to do so on Sunday next. The number of communicants residing here, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is fifteen. I have organized a Sunday School; the number of scholars is necessarily small. Our congregation is made up principally of young married persons and single gentlemen. Most of the children belonging to it are of too tender an age to be exposed to the rigours of the winter season. In the course of the next spring we shall be able to assemble a larger number. We are well supplied with books of instruction and reading, through the liberality of the Female Benevolent Society of St. James Church, New London.

Nov. 12th. I left Chicago for Juliet, having been invited to organize a parish there. This, however, was not thought expedient till next spring. Juliet is about forty miles from Chicago; it is laid out on the Des Plane river, near the route of the proposed canal. It is adjacent to the famous mound Juliet, which was discovered by the Sire Juliet and is minutely described by Schoolcraft in a late work. Juliet is a corruption of the name of the mound. A town in this part of the country is a level plot of ground, judiciously selected and divided into lots, which are sold at public auction. It is not a little amusing as you ride round, to be informed that you are now in Washington street, now in Water street, and now in the public square, while nothing but a log school-house, a tavern, one or two stores, and a half dozen dwelling houses are scattered about in view. There is, however, some reason in this, for if you should visit the spot six months afterwards, you would probably find the number of dwellings doubled or trebled. Such Juliet now is. But as it is situated in the center of a fertile, healthy, and well settled district, it must soon become a large and flourishing town. Within a circuit of twelve miles, there are over two hundred families. I found a few families decidedly attached to the Episcopal Church, and eight members of her communion; these all expressed a willingness to support the services of our Church, and I doubt not would esteem it a privilege to do so. There are other families and some communicants of our Church whom I could not visit at this time.

I hope to form a parish at Juliet next spring, and that by autumn the way will have been prepared for the constant services of some brother, who is ready to leave father and mother, brother and sister, for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Members of our Church who intend to locate in the northern part of this state will find healthy and fertile locations in the vicinity of Juliet. They would enjoy the occasional services of their own Church, and might assist in securing their permanent establishment—a consideration not to be overlooked by any member of our communion.

16th, Sunday. Preached in the house of Dr. Bowen, to a small congregation. Six communicants of our Church were present, to whom I would have gladly given the sacrament of the Lord's Supper had circumstances permitted.

22d. I returned to my home, well pleased with this introduction to the fatigues and pleasures of a country missionary's life. The former are not few, the latter are peculiar; a holy feeling is experienced as the eye rests upon the humble dwelling, in search of which many a weary mile has been passed over, springing from the reflection that you are about to confer upon one, two or more of the same profession and faith, the unexpected pleasure of meeting a missionary of their own beloved Church. When you have entered the door and announced your message, the warm pressure and upturned eye assure you that you are welcome, and God is praised.

I can assure the Society that they could not have sent a missionary to any place where his services are more needed, or may be more beneficial. Two years ago, this place was known only as a military post. It is now as large as any town in the state, containing about two thousand inhabitants. Its growth has been unprecedented even in the annals of western history,—and it is reasonably expected that its increase will be in the same proportion. The Presbyterians, Catholics, Methodists and Baptists, have congregations and places of worship. There is a respectable number of professing Episcopalians, and there are many who are not attached to any denomination. Our Church will receive a share of public support, and will, I trust, repay a hundred-fold. Lots have been given, upon which it is proposed to erect a church in the course of the next spring or summer. Seven hundred dollars have been subscribed for this object, which we shall be able to increase to a thousand or more; and then, with the addition of a few hundred dollars which we hope to receive from some of our eastern friends, we shall raise a church for the worship and to the glory of Almighty God." (Missionary Record, February, 1835.)

From the Report of the Rev. Mr. Hallam, officiating in Chicago.

"March 5th, 1835. Since my last report, my time has been occupied in efforts to promote the welfare of the parish I had previously organized in this place, to which my labours in the winter have been necessarily confined. I have regularly preached twice on Sunday, and for some time past, have lectured every Wednesday evening. Morning prayer has been read on holy days, and the word of exhortation occasionally given. I have lately been invited to officiate once in three weeks in Fort Dearborn, and have done so once. From thirty to forty of the soldiers were present, some of whom gave heed to the word spoken.

Feb. 12th, at a parish meeting, it was resolved, 'that it is expedient to proceed to the erection of an Episcopal Church in lots donated by the Messrs. Kinsies for that purpose.' We have since decided upon a brick building, 30 by 50 feet in size, expense estimated at three thousand dollars. Of this sum, we shall, I trust, be able to raise \$1500; this, added to the value of the lots at the low estimate of \$1000, will give the amount \$2500. This, considering our numbers are few, the want of those local prejudices and attachments, that assist very much in erecting churches in long settled communities, and the scarcity of money, will be creditable to the liberality and piety of the people. In order to meet the full expense of building our church, we must mortgage the lots, and ask the aid of those who are blessed with more means and greater privileges. I hardly know how to ask the contributions of my Christian brethren, when the cry for help ascends from so many quarters of this destitute land. Our claims are the same with others, or need perhaps as great. I am persuaded that the prosperity of our Zion, and the salvation of men, cannot be more effectually secured, than by meeting all requests of this kind, with prompt and liberal aid. An agency has not been thought expedient in our case. I have written to several of my clerical brethren, entreating their influence in our behalf, among their respective congregations. If these remarks meet the eye of any accustomed to contribute of their substance to the building up of Christ's kingdom, a portion for our necessity will not be misplaced, and as the Lord liveth, will not go unrewarded.

Permit me to call the attention of the Committee to the town of Juliet, of which mention was made in my first report. Some of its local advantages were there enumerated. Its importance is now increased; a bill for a canal connecting the waters of Lake Michigan and the river Illinois, having passed the Legislature during the last session. The route lies through Juliet, which must soon become equal to any of the large towns on the Erie Canal. By next autumn, it will present the appearance of a flourishing village, and the adjacent groves will have been well filled. A missionary of the Presbyterian society will commence his labours there soon; but there is room for all to do good. An unusual number of the inhabitants are Episcopalians. Lots are offered upon which to erect an Episcopal Church and a parsonage. Why need we always be too late? Here is every reasonable inducement for commencing missionary operations. I know the Committee will do all in their power to prevent this convenient opportunity from slipping by unimproved. . . .

P. S. There were two mistakes in the printing my first report, owing to my bad handwriting. The town of Juliet takes its name from a celebrated mound in its vicinity. The

name of the mound is a corruption of the name of its discoverer, the Sire Joliet."

(Missionary Record, June, 1835.)

From the Report of the Rev. J. Hallam, officiating at Chicago.

"June 2d. Our progress since my last report, though slow, has been steadily forward. I find that the missionary must be faithful in season and out of season, and then wait patiently on the Lord for the reward of his labour. The number of communicants remains the same; some having joined the Church, others having removed from the place. At the next communion two or three will be added. Our principal object now is the erection of a Church, the commencement of which is delayed for the want of materials and workmen. These deficiencies supplied, we shall proceed. Once provided with a convenient place of worship, a respectable congregation will not be wanting. Our population is now rapidly increasing. All is bustle and excitement. Amid the general devotion to worldly business, religion and the Church are somewhat neglected; some say necessarily. I cannot but think otherwise. May 8th, the Right Rev. Philander Chase arrived in Chicago. The Sunday following, the Bishop preached and administered the communion in the Presbyterian meeting-house. In the afternoon, his nephew, the Rev. Mr. Chase, preached in the Methodist Chapel; in the evening the Bishop preached in the same place.

12th. The Bishop left Chicago on a tour through the state. I have just received 100 Prayer-Books, a donation from the Auxiliary New-York Bible and Common Prayer-Book Society, and 30,000 pages of Tracts, a donation from the New-York Protestant Episcopal Tract Society—to be divided between the stations at Chicago, Galena and Peoria."

(Missionary Record, August, 1835.)

From the Report of the Rev. Mr. Hallam, officiating at Chicago.

"Sept. 3 (1835). Since my last report of June 1st, I have married one couple, buried two adults, and baptized three infants. Four have been added to the communion—one removed. We have had a share of the many who this season have settled in Chicago. The large room we now occupy is usually well filled. Of every part of my duty I can speak encouragingly, excepting the Sunday School, which, though now somewhat more flourishing, is not what it ought to be.

During the land sales in June, the ladies of St. James parish held a fair. The sales amounted to \$1,431. The proceeds will be appropriated to the purchase of an organ, lamp, &c.

I am happy to state, that the foundation of our church is now commenced. By the blessing of God, the wall will be raised and the building enclosed this fall. Among the subscriptions to its erection, one is deserving of grateful notice, that of Wm. B. Ogden, agent for the proprietors of certain property adjacent, who subscribed \$1,000.

July 8th, I left home to visit the village (for such it may now be called), of Juliet. Bishop Chase had a short time previous organized a parish there. I found the members of the Church rejoicing that an appropriation had been made towards the support of a missionary, and hoping soon to welcome one among them. I preached in Juliet twice on Sunday, 12th inst., and during my visit, twice more in the neighborhood. 'The summer is ended,' and I have not yet heard of one decided offer for that promising field of labour.

July 28th, I made an excursion about thirty miles N. W. from Chicago, where I knew of some settlers on Indian lands attached to our communion, and glad I was to find a few zealous and enlightened Connecticut Churchmen. The Sunday previous they had met for lay reading and the formation of a Sunday School, in which good beginning I exhorted them stedfastly to persevere. Within a short distance are six families of Episcopalians and five communicants, a number more of which spirit will join them in the spring. And here may be commenced the next missionary station in this part of Illinois. Even now, while the lands are not owned, not even surveyed, the missionary will find it for his interest and usefulness to commence the work. This report closes the account of my proceedings as your missionary for one year. We shall need your fostering care yet another. The missionary stipend and the contributions of my people have fallen short of my expenses. Many things have been left undone; but when I consider what has been accomplished, I thank God for the institution of Missionary Societies, and bless the providence which made me a missionary."

(Missionary Record, November, 1835.)

Statement by the Rev. Isaac W. Hallam (undated).

"After worshipping for some time in a room where the parish was organized, we moved over to the South side and occupied Montgomery's Auction Store. The walls were covered with prints of the town that was to be, and we used to go early in the morning and turn their faces to the wall so that the attention of the people might not be drawn to worldly business. There were very few chairs and most of the congregation used to sit on barrels and baskets while I preached from the auctioneer's block where, during the week, lots were sold for \$5.00 apiece. Indians often came in

during the services; others looked in and more passed by the door. Subsequently, we worshipped in the Presbyterian meeting house which was on the common at the north end of the lot where the Sherman House now stands."

(Ninetieth anniversary of St. James Church, Chicago.)

From the Rev. Isaac W. Hallam, Missionary to Chicago.

"December 7, 1835. During the last quarter my labours have been confined to Chicago. I have buried six individuals and married two couples. Four persons have been added to the number of communicants. By the blessing of God, I may again report that my congregation continues to increase. On Sunday last there was a more numerous attendance on our services than ever before.

Of several places where Missionaries of our Church might be immediately stationed, and where I know that now is the time to put in the sickle, I select Milwauky.* It is situated in the Ouisconsin† territory, on the shore of Lake Michigan, and distant about 80 miles from Chicago. In the opinion of many judicious persons it will be very little inferior to the last named place. Twenty-five miles this side of Milwauky is Root River. The two might be united for the present in one station. I have been frequently requested by intelligent and influential men of both places to call the attention of the Committee to this subject, and to assure them of a readiness on the part of the people generally to support a Missionary of the Episcopal Church. They always add, what your missionaries so often write, 'Now is the time.' It is not so much what these places now are, as what they will be in a short time, that makes it so important that they should be immediately occupied. Both Milwauky and Root River will have harbours, and where such is the case the increase of population is astonishingly great."‡

(Spirit of Missions, Vol. 1, pgs. 15-16.)

The report of the Board of Missions for 1837 states that "Chicago has ceased to be a Missionary station. The labors of the Missionary at that place have been so highly blessed of God, and the parish has enjoyed such a measure of prosperity as no longer to need the fostering care of the Church."§

The basement of the new St. James Church was used for services late in 1836. The church bell, the first in Chicago, was rung on Christmas Day, and the body of the church was occupied for the first time on March 26, 1837.

*Milwaukee.

†Wisconsin.

‡By action of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions, Milwauky and Root River, then in Michigan Territory, on Lake Michigan, were made missionary stations on January 4, 1836, with a grant of \$250 to each.

§Spirit of Missions, Vol. II, pg. 207.

Letter of Bishop Philander Chase.

Monday night, 26th of June, 1837.

"Yesterday was a blessed day in Chicago. Mild was the air and serene the sky. The moral state of things also seemed in unison with the natural world.

"Was not this a blessing, inviting the mind of every Christian to pray for that peace which the Sun of righteousness and the Spirit of the Lord alone can give to the souls of men!

The *consecration* of *St. James Church*, Chicago, took place precisely at half-past ten. The church was filled to overflowing even before the Bishop met the wardens and vestrymen at the door. A stillness and breathless silence, seldom witnessed in a crowded assembly, was observed at every step the procession advanced from the vestibule to the altar; and the solemnity of the divine service appointed for the occasion was, I have reason to believe, deeply felt by all. The Rev. Mr. Hallam read the morning prayer, and myself the ante-communion, and also the sermon. Never did I speak to a more attentive audience; and when the confirmation of eleven well-prepared persons was performed, who *all* joined in the reception of the Holy Communion, the text of the discourse just preached seemed literally fulfilled, and all appeared ready to say with it, 'The Lord is in this place. This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.' The whole number of the communicants *now* is about thirty belonging to *St. James Church*."

(Reminiscences of Bishop Chase, Vol. II, pgs. 388-9.)

GOD'S MERCY AND MAN'S MINISTRY

By Rev. Edward William Peet, D. D.

A sermon preached in St. John's Church, Bridgeport, Conn., on Sunday, September 23rd, 1877—Fiftieth anniversary of the commencement of his ministry.

(Typewritten from the original by Rev. F. P. Willes)

"Seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not."—
II Cor. iv:1.

IN the year 1827 there were thirty-three persons admitted to the ministry of our Protestant Episcopal Church. There were nine Bishops who received them to the Diaconate. I give the names of those most venerable and holy men as they stand in the record of our Church history. They were Bishops White, Hobart, Griswold, Moore, Chase, Kemp, Bowen, Brownell, Ravenscroft. Of the thirty-three Deacons on whom they laid Holy hands with prayer, but six now remain. They are as follows in the order of their admission: The Revs. Wm. K. Lewis, W. R. Whittingham, C. F. Jones, Samuel Fuller, Horatio Potter, and myself last. Of the Bishops of that year, 1827, who ordained them not one remains. . . .

I fear, beloved, to trust myself to those earliest days, when we saw from Sunday to Sunday the face of the Primitive and faithful Shelton, the Father of St. John's, who was often under my father's roof and at his table, and he would give to us at such times as occasion admitted the words of kindness, gentleness and sacred truth. And there were venerable men constant attendants on his ministry. They were always at church. There was ever the venerable and venerated Ozjas Burr. There was also my own father, the watchful and patient warden of St. John's for a period of forty years. His love for the Church of God, for her teachings, her comforts and her heavenly hopes, amounted to nothing less than a passion. In the last days of his life, when weak and dying, no entreaty could keep him from his knees when we mingled our voices with his in humble devotion and prayer. Nor have I forgotten the names or features, familiar to my memory since days and years with them have passed away. May I repeat them? The heads of families are as follows: They were Burr, Brooks, Foote, Sherman, Sherwood, Allen, Hinman, Hyde, Nichols, Kirtland, Olmstead, Smith, Burritt, Benjamin, Hubbell, Norman,

Fayerweather, Canon, Prindle, Goodsell, Hoyt, Linus, Thompson, Minot, Young, Cook, Peabody, Parrot, Stratton, Walker, Roberts, Blakeman, Humphries, Curtis, Clifford, Botsford, Hawley and others with many sons and daughters. "They have passed away."

Fifty years ago today I was admitted to Deacon's Orders here in this parish of St. John's. At my examination the night before, the Bishop* asked me what sermons I had. I gave him a list of them and he selected one on the text "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," and directed me to preach it the next day in the afternoon, as a large confirmation was then expected. I had not told the good Bishop that the sermon was not entirely completed, but then it was too late. It was towards morning, amid the most intense mental excitement, that the discourse was imperfectly finished and I went to rest. The trial of its delivery the next day I shall never forget. It was in the midst of my relatives, in the place of my nativity and among the companions of my childhood and youth. The crowd was great, drawn together by two ordinations in the morning and the confirmations in the afternoon. I survived the trial and so the earthly record of my ministry had begun. While in the General Seminary in New York I had occasion to notice the frequency with which young men lingered when in orders in the midst of large cities, and resolved to accept the first call, whatever it might be. In a short time I received, from a clerical friend in Virginia, a letter with an invitation, as he expressed it, from the Ladies Missionary Society of Christ Church, Fredericksburg. I was wanted for an itinerant service on the Rappahannock and its tributaries and on the Potomac. There was nothing very definite in the summons, nor was anything said about support of salary in any direction, but it was the first shadow of a call and I resolved to obey it. I accordingly took leave of kindred and friends, stopped at Washington for a day or two, and thence went on to the field of my future labors.

On the wharf of Alexandria I met the Rev. George Griswold, the youngest son of Bishop Griswold, and the Rev. George A. Smith. They both greeted me with marked kindness. Mr. Smith asked me to go (manuscript torn).

It was a true home to which I was admitted. His parents entered fully into my feelings, and gave me advice suggested by their Christian hearts, and their son gave me several letters, which had a marked and happy influence on my ministry in Virginia.

On Saturday evening I reached the city of Fredericksburg. There I was kindly received by the Rev. Dr. McGuire, so well known

*Bishop Thos. C. Brownell (Ct.).

in the whole church for his faithful and successful labors. He gave me his pulpit the next day both morning and afternoon.

I discovered early that my arrival was entirely unexpected and what was to be done with me was a question which agitated the rector himself, and most of all the kind ladies whose accumulated savings were my whole reliance for support. Their whole treasury amounted to sixty dollars. I accidentally learned this fact as I passed the open door of the parlor in which they had met for consultation. I threw myself on the divine promise: "In all thy ways acknowledge Him and He shall direct thy paths." A few days later I began a missionary tour in the adjoining county of Louisiana,* a region that has since become well known in the conflict of armies. A kind-hearted dweller on the Rappahannock placed me on his horse, putting the bridle and whip into my hands, and giving me his blessing. This was Mr. John Gray.† It was in this Christian family that I always found a cheerful welcome and a home. Mr. Gray was the uncle of that estimable lady, now alas departed, the wife of the present Bishop of New York.

I also visited the counties of Prince William and Fauquier, after which the way was open by letters and messages from the laity and rector of Christ's Church, Fredericksburg, to the very destitute parishes in the county of King George. There in God's providence I found the field of my labors for the two following years. The particulars of my first ride in that direction are indelibly impressed upon my memory. My pathway led down through what was then, and is to this day called the Northern Neck—the long strip of country bordered by the Rappahannock on the one side and the Potomac on the other and ending on the Chesapeake.

My friends had told me where to leave the main road and take a bridle path through the trees. On reaching the point designated, I followed the directions and soon came to the building.‡ One end of it was shaded by the branches of an immense oak and all the rest of the edifice was crowded by various trees. The doors were wide open, and the boughs of the cedars swept against the windows and brick walls. The desolation was complete. I alighted from my horse and entered the deserted sanctuary. The floor was of stone and the high antique pews were all standing as in past ages. I walked to the Chancel, which was at the east end, about eighty feet from the door, by which I entered (the reading desk and the pulpit were opposite the side door in the center of the building). The massive walls of brick were perfect, as firm as when first erected, a century before.

*Probably Spotsylvania or else Louisa.

†Of Traveler's Rest, in Stafford County, southeast of Fredericksburg.

‡Lamb's Creek Church, still standing.

As I looked upward from the Chancel where I stood, I saw the blue sky from an opening in the roof and white clouds passing over. All within was as still as the grave. Now and then a loose shutter would grate on its hinges, and I could hear the sigh of the wind in the pine tops. I knelt down then and there and asked of God grace for every duty and help in duty where I then was, if it were His will.

I resumed my journey with an oppressive sadness but with a resolved purpose not to give up until I knew the worst. In this central region through which my road lay there were very few dwellings. One could ride for hours and hardly see a house. The dwellings of the planters were mostly on the rich lands on the river banks. Towards evening I reached the house of Mr. Thomas Smith*, where I was glad to find I was expected. Mr. Smith was a good friend of the Episcopal Church and a lawyer with an extensive practice. He subsequently gave up his profession and entered the ministry. He died in Western Virginia after several years of active and successful labor.

The second day after the hospitalities of Mr. Smith, I went across the country some twenty-five miles towards the home of Mr. Needham L. Washington,† residing on the bluffs of the Potomac. I saw but one person on this ride, except occasionally a slave. The person I speak of came suddenly upon me at a sharp turn in the road. The meeting was so unexpected, and the eye of the rider was so sharp and searching that I failed to offer the usual courtesy of the travelers, and so we passed each other without speaking. I mention this incident, for though it disturbed at the time, yet to that tall, fierce, worldly, violent man, God gave in due time a most humble, patient, Christian heart and made him the center of a sacred and widespread influence for the Church of Christ. I reached the home of Mr. Washington the same evening.

There among relatives of our greatest and best citizen I found a home in every sense attractive. Mrs. Washington comprehended at once the mental trials incident to my new and peculiar position. She was mother and sister at the same time. In her piety, dignity, and sweetness of disposition, refinement and heavenly charity, she was a woman in her highest type, a Christian lady. She loved the Prayer Book and the Church with a touching, simple confidence in their teachings without a particle of bigotry. Those were calm, bright days which I occasionally spent there with her family. The spacious mansion, the garden falling in terraces nearly a hundred feet down to the rippled beach of the Potomac, the broad, vast bosom of

*Canning, in King George, on the Rappahannock.

†Windsor, in St. Paul's Parish.

the river flecked often in winter with the snowy islands of swans and sea birds; the distant shores of Maryland, and all around us the groves of cedars and hemlock and burnished holly with its crimson berries, were the outward frame of this home of light and beauty. Alas, how changed today! All of that family in the sleep of death, the noble dwelling burned and its walls in heaps of ruin; brambles and nettles in the place of flowers and this dire change came long before the period of our national conflict. Verily what is man in his best estate? "What is our life?" "It is even as a vapor which continueth for a short time and then vanisheth away."

My first service was held in the Academy so-called. It was formerly St. Paul's Church. After the Revolution the Legislature of Virginia passed an act to "resume," as she termed it, all the Church lands in the State; in other words, to confiscate them for State purposes. She thus robbed the Church of property to the amount of \$400,000.00. She did this on the plea that these lands were originally obtained by taxing the people. This was true in part, and only in part, for many of the glebes were given by individuals from pious and charitable motives. The act of resumption did not touch the churches, nor the church plate, nor the grave yards. In the case of St. Paul's, King George County, the Church was held as an exception and turned into an academy. This sequestration in this and similar cases was by an act of the Legislature after a vote of the county. Of course the literary and academical scheme was abandoned, as was usual in the South with the great majority of such schemes. Such was the state of things when I reached the neighborhood.

I found the ample church of a previous century cut up into rooms and chambers, and promising after a few years to be a ruinous wreck of stone. Such was my first field in its outward aspect. There was Hanover Parish, whose church in the woods I have described,* and St. Paul's, twelve miles southeast, with no church at all. The first service was a crowded one in the audience room of the academy, for good notice had been given, and curiosity was aroused to see and hear "the young preacher from the north."

Only one service was possible, as most of the congregation had to ride from five to ten miles to get to church. The residence of Mr. Washington was five miles from the place of worship and we rode through a heavy snowstorm, though it was in Virginia and in the beginning of November. Almost every one came in carriages or on horseback and the rattling of carriage steps and the loud greetings of various parties struck me as something new. At the close of the

**This is an error. It was Lamb's Creek Church in Brunswick Parish. Hanover Parish covers the eastern end of King George and had no church building standing.*

service I was favoured with a general introduction. My invitations to dinner I have never attempted to count, but it was not in my power to accept any, as I had to return home with my host.

Perhaps a more unpromising and hopeless field of duty could hardly be conceived. The region into which I had entered was celebrated all over Virginia for its habits of dissipation and reckless prodigality, and consequent insolvency, and as well for its Sabbath breaking and constant gatherings for drinking and excess; but in the hearts of a few women the pure flame of Christian Love burned with an unchanging light, and around them hope lingered awaiting the dawn of a better day.

There was another very painful obstacle in my path. My host Mr. Washington was at deadly variance with a near neighbor and kinsman* in consequence of a disputed land boundary. The disagreement culminated in a personal combat, after the Southern code of morals, a year or more before. Mr. Washington, with some fine traits of character, was very unlike his distinguished relative. His temper was quick and he often acted from sudden and reckless impulses.

Some weeks after this I received from Col. Stuart a cordial invitation to come and make his house my home, without fee or reward, and to accept the temporary use of a horse which he held at my disposal. This settled at once the question of the place and terms of my residence. A lawyer in the neighborhood said to me, "If you convert John Stuart you will convert the whole community." I replied, "If God shall convert him." I became a member of his family. My correspondence with his children and descendants continues to this hour.

Some three months afterward, on Saturday evening, I left his house, at the suggestion of his wife, and repaired to the house of a friend near the church. He had been absent for several days, and she had received a note from him directing that a fire be kindled in a certain room, which she perfectly understood as the precursor of a night of reckless gambling. I was soon on horseback and met my host and his friends as they were entering his plantation. He introduced me to his companions, and expressed his regret at my departure. That night his losses were very heavy and the playing continued till well into the Sabbath hours. I knew Mrs. Stuart, a true Christian lady, was that morning in tears. Can anyone conceive my despair? His aged mother had gone to her heavenly rest a year and a half before, and had said to her daughter-in-law not long before she died, "God

**Col. John Stuart of Cedar Grove; his son was the Dr. Stuart to whom John Wilkes Booth applied to set his leg.*

will arrest my son in His own good time and he will die in the faith of Christ." Such was the mother's prophetic faith. Could we hope for it? These details are of especial interest as illustrating God's mercy with his humble ministry. Some weeks after these painful events, my parishioner of whom I have been speaking was attacked with a serious illness. I was absent at the convention of the Church in Petersburg, and hearing of his illness on my way home, I hastened, if it were possible, to reach him before his death.

I was almost speechless at the change in his whole appearance. The florid cheek had given way to a strange, ghastly expression. A number of his relatives stood round his bed, and behind these were several of his own grey-headed slaves. I took his hand in mine. He said to me, "I have sent for you to give you my testimony." And what do you think it was? Was it the love of Christ? He made no allusion to it whatever. In that dread hour he could see nothing but divine justice. It seemed to engross every other thought of earth and Heaven, of time and eternity. He said, "I have called you to give you this testimony, that if after all the communications God has made to the World, men will not repent, they shall be punished! That punishment, O how just." Amid the tears and sobs of his family, both bond and free, we all knelt and implored the presence and forgiveness of our Saviour and Lord. He survived that night; he lived through the next day; he began to amend, and to my inexpressible joy, he asked me to administer to him the Holy Communion. He was an humble believer in Jesus. I was then only in Deacon's Orders and could not give the sacrament, but directly across the Potomac, in Maryland, was the Rev. Charles Mann.* He still lives in Southern Virginia and is verging towards ninety years. A messenger was sent for him and he came without delay. We gathered around the couch of suffering and sorrow and with humble yet joyful hearts, partook of the bread of Life. May we not see, beloved, in all this the hand of God? How wonderful are His doings and His ways past finding out! What a change was wrought for me! How different then my relation to my generous host and his family. What had I not to hope for in his influence and active exertion. With returning health his first step was to meet his enemy, but then his friend. It was an entire reconciliation and I often administered to both of them kneeling together, the symbols of Christ's enduring and forgiving love.

The prediction of the lawyer was not literally verified, but there was some truth in it, a great change took place in the character and religious sentiments of the people, and there were numerous and valuable additions to the communion of the Church. The old church

**Later was Rector of Ware Parish for forty years; died 1878.*

in the woods of Hanover* Parish was entirely restored. I bought myself, at Fredericksburg, the shingles and lumber which were needed. They were landed on the bank of the Rappahannock, and had to be hauled to the church some distance from the landing place. I had by frequent visits to many plantations to secure the laborers in this work and I found it necessary by application to their masters to keep them in the line of duty. In this new employment I worked not a little with my own hand and joined some two thousand shingles and more, and the church received its roof. Little did I think that I was completing a shelter for bivouac and rest of our Northern soldiers, but so it was.† Many found refuge beneath what was in part the work of my own hands. In that woodland temple I was enabled to gather a Sunday School, and among the teachers the venerable and true-hearted John Taliaferro, of Hagley, so long called the Father of the House of Representatives. The sacramental days there are invested in my memory with a peculiar sweetness. The services there are still continued.

The difficulties in regard to St. Paul's Parish were more formidable. Before we could repair the building we had to get possession of it. It required an especial act of legislation. I went to Richmond one year with our petition. It was instantly scouted. We had permitted the word Church to get in. We learned wisdom for the next year. We simply begged the repeal of the act respecting the school house. I stayed away myself. It passed in silence, and so the delighted parishioners took possession of the church of their fathers, and they worship in it to this day. . . .

Early in the beginning of 1830 I was invited to the rectorship of St. John's Church, Richmond. My friends here at home were anxious that I should accept the call on the ground that in King George County I was ever on horseback, and my opportunities for reading and study were very limited, and that for two summers I had been prostrated for weeks with malarial fever. I had received Priest's Orders from the hands of Bishop Moore in the very church to which I was invited. The Bishop himself urged my removal and I accepted the call. I believe there was general regret at my departure which was not long delayed. I broke with them the bread of life, and we separated with many tears. My salary at this day would be called the merest pittance—not quite \$350.00—but I was living, as it were, at no expense. I gave the parish a very valuable horse as my contribution towards the restoration of St. Paul's—a work which was successfully accomplished. The Church of St. John's in Richmond

*Brunswick.

†They used it for a stable and destroyed the interior.

is the oldest in that city. It is of wood and was erected long before the era of the Revolution. It was occupied by the state convention, which assembled there to deliberate as to the duty of Virginia in that fearful crisis. There were uttered the words of that true Churchman and sound patriot, Patrick Henry, "The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms"; and those final words, "As for me, give me liberty or give me death."

I look back to my brief ministry in Richmond with grief and joy:—with grief, first in the loss of loved and valuable members who were removed by death. The cholera in 1832 was frightful in its malignity and in the extent of its ravages. I was constantly with the bereaved, the dying, and the dead. The scarlet fever had also raged with deadly power. In several cases families were deprived of all their children. In these sad scenes it was my melancholy duty to be constantly engaged in bringing to the stricken hearts the consolations of religion. I recall the memory of their entire confidence in my imperfect administrations with deep emotions.

I look back also on my ministry there with joy. Ties were there formed, which neither time nor distance nor fierce vicissitudes nor angry revolutions have been able to destroy. For while all the heads of families there I fear have without exception gone before to the eternal state, yet their children live and respond to the kind memories preserved in traditional recollections. There never was a kinder people and but for one reason I should have no grounds to justify my removal to the west in 1833. This was the existence of the dread system which gave its own prediction as early as in that day. I had been called on an early day to the parish of St. Paul, Chillicothe, Ohio, and after a brief visit to that place I became convinced of my line of duty and went there in October, 1833. Some years before that period I was one of a little group of Sunday School boys in St. John's. The wooden temple was, as you all know, very different from the chaste and beautiful edifice in which we worship here today. The Sunday School class was in the hands of a kind-hearted gentleman. Mrs. Charles Foote and a boy by the name of Burr were my companions. He is now the Rev. Erastus Burr, D. D. I had been in the city of Chillicothe some two or three years when Mr. Burr called to see me. He had suffered greatly from rheumatic tendency and had given one or two years in the milder climate of Mississippi. During that time he had not seen one of his family. He was preparing to rejoin them when he was requested to visit the city of Portsmouth on the Ohio, before going home. He descended to Sciota, saw the people and the church, and accepted the call to the rectorship. He was soon established with his family in the parish at Portsmouth. From that day

to this he has kept on the even tenor of his way. He sustains the reputation of being one of the most faithful and successful of our clergy. He still lives on the banks of the Ohio. He has lived to see his one church doubled. He is respected and beloved in his parishes and is constantly returned to the General Convention of the church by the Bishop, Clergy and Laity of the Diocese.

I wrote to him three weeks since urging him to give us his presence here today. I had almost said his sacred presence, for I feel that this Sunday School boy of sixty-three years ago was not only of the earliest class of Sunday School scholars of any denomination in Bridgeport, but the first and best in his path of Christian duty from that day to this. He was the true child of the Church for which he lived and came more and more to love. He was, did I was *was*? He *is* intelligent, wise, calm, gentle, upright, believing, just, generous and charitable. At the end of my first year in Chillicothe, Ohio, we had completed a substantial church of brick and stone with organ tower and bell. It was a rare parish in many respects. There was much of earnest piety and zeal, and a high degree of culture and refinement. There I was fortunate in arranging an important social connection which to this day has only called for thankfulness and praise. In the course of eight years residence a sense of duty led me to return eastward on account of the advanced age of my parents. On my return to New York some citizens of Rahway, where there was no church, waited on me and proposed to me to begin work at that place.

I remained there twelve years. For a long time my beloved parents gave me an annual visit, which seemed to give as much pleasure to my parishioners as to myself and family. Their visits were always regulated by the return of the day appointed for Holy Communion, and so we gathered with our temporal blessings the strengthened faith "that lives beyond the tomb."

I closed my father's eyes on February the seventh, 1850. About that time the Board of Missions communicated with me and urged me to consider the very important work in the missionary field. I accordingly went out afterward and visited Illinois and Iowa and very soon became convinced that my duty did not admit of discussion or doubt. I resigned my parish and went out in the month of March, 1855, to the new seat of government at Des Moines.

I took leave, however, most reluctantly of my beloved and venerated mother. I had never seen her weep before as she wept then. She was just completing her ninety-first year. Some weeks later I descended the valley of the Des Moines in Iowa and spent the Sunday in Oscaloosa, where I organized a new parish.

On my return up the valley the crowd of land hunters on and

in the stage was so great that I had to climb to the top of it. The night was intensely cold and yet in the excess of my fatigue I fell asleep on the mail bags. These were handed down to the Postmaster on reaching Des Moines and I repaired to my lodgings, which were near at hand. In a few minutes several letters were placed in my hands, as they had just come in. Several of them conveyed the sad intelligence of my dear mother's departure to the world of changeless peace and love. In that cold and dreary night I had slept soundly on the mail bags in blessed ignorance of their unknown contents. The trials of a frontier life were in those days often very great and unavoidable. I had my share of them, but with the unbroken health of my family and our ever brightening hope of life as it was, I was thankful for the countless mercies and blessings continually bestowed.

Early in the next year I received an earnest request from the head of the Diocese, the ever beloved and ever lamented Bishop Lee, to go on a visit to Nebraska. There had reached him a Macedonian cry. When I made the journey to Omaha there were no railways in Iowa and under the rains of April almost no roads. In the journey of one hundred and forty miles the horses took fright in the night and ran away with the stage, which was full of passengers, but the maddened animals took to a kindly morass in the Prairie and we escaped serious injury.

On my return from Omaha to Des Moines another quartet of horses gave fresh variety and danger to our experiences of travel. These took fright in broad day at the top of a road leading down a very steep descent into a narrow gorge made by a small stream over which was a bridge. I was alone in the stage and before the greatest speed was reached I sprang out of the coach, grazing an oak tree at a fearful risk of life and landed safely in a copse of hazel. The team and stage flew swiftly down the gorge and over the bridge; the stage made a complete upset, the driver was thrown off, while the horses with the pole and forward wheels of the carriage became entangled amid the trees. As the driver heard no sound of distress, he gave me up as dead, not knowing of my escape. My arrival soon after out of the bushes brought a word of thankfulness to his lips and color to his pallid cheeks.

Trials on the frontier were many and varied. I was returning from Omaha to Council Bluffs and we met a stage coach going west. I was hailed by one of the passengers. I answered, "Here I am." He replied, "An accident at home." I was speechless. My first and only thought was of my dear children. I had left the Des Moines River in full flood, and one or more drowned boys was my first fear. The traveler again spoke, "Your house has fallen down." "No lives

lost." The preservation of my family was by miracle. The end of my house fell with a frightful crash. Had my younger son slept another five minutes his death would have been instantaneous.

Of course on the frontiers nothing was done and nothing arranged to be done. Not a church building was visible north or west. There were no rooms, school rooms or otherwise. We had an occasional chamber in a hotel, or a shade-tree in mild weather made a possible expedient to what was so much needed and required to be done. In the Autumn of 1859 I was a delegate to the General Convention of our Church in the city of Richmond. I was most happy to be once more among the children of many friends who had departed and of the few that remained.

While the General Convention was then in session I was told that the House of Bishops were trying to elect a Bishop for the Territory in the West. I had not the slightest idea who was to be selected. In fact I had heard nothing of any candidates whatever. The next day I was informed that the Bishops were casting votes for myself, and said to every one who approached me on the subject that Dr. Talbot was my junior for fifteen years and therefore he was much better suited than I could possibly be for the heavy burdens he would have to bear. Indeed the thought of such responsibility and toil and fatigue gave me most painful apprehensions. Dr. Talbot was elected to the sacred office, to my great satisfaction and joy. My return to the East some seven years later was mainly owing to the seeming cruelty of separating a mother from her child. We were accordingly located within reach of those so near to us, in the thriving town of Holyoke, Mass. I found a church there under the pressure of heavy pecuniary obligations to the amount of nine or ten thousand dollars. In a year or less the church building was fitted for public worship and in due course of events the debt was carefully and honorably paid. The unhesitating course pursued by the good people of Holyoke towards me has secured my approbation and filled me with sincere affection and respect. They know that I was on the very verge of threescore years and ten, and yet my years were not regarded as a fatal obstacle to my settlement among them. I pray for the blessing of God upon them, now and in all the years to come. Let me give a word in conclusion.

I am aware that the quickness of our affections and the force of human sympathies are thought to diminish with advanced years. It may be so in general but perhaps not always. In no field of my past labors am I conscious of a livelier interest than I feel in your midst today. So between us a living tie exists. I may say with truth that I have you all in my heart and if I do not live in yours I

may at least intreat that you find me in your earnest prayers. Neither youthful ardor nor varied experience, neither the fervor of life's morning, nor the wisdom of age, will avail anything except the love of God.

"Without which nothing is strong, nothing is Holy." What is so sacred, so holy, so pure as the work of a spiritual teacher—a heavenly guide? I am often amazed to this day that I should have dared to assume it. Is any man strong enough to bear its burdens? Is any man wise enough to teach its doctrines? Is any man pure enough to teach its doctrines? Is any man pure enough to impart its consolations? Is any man holy enough to bestow its peace? "Who is sufficient for these things?"

LETTER OF THE REV. ABRAHAM JARVIS OF CON-
NECTICUT TO REV. MR. SAMUEL PETERS,
LOYALIST REFUGEE IN LONDON

(From the Jarvis Papers)

THE following important letter was written by Abraham Jarvis of Middletown, Connecticut, (later Bishop of the diocese) to the Reverend Doctor Samuel Peters, then a loyalist refugee in London. It deals with the canonical difficulties standing in the way of Dr. Peters' consecration as Bishop of Vermont, and there is added an account of the sudden death of Bishop Samuel Seabury.

Middletown, April 4, 1796.

Rev^d. & dear Sir—

Your last favor of Oct^r. 1, 1795, I have had by me for a considerable time. I could without loss of time, have given you my Sentiments of the Cannon referred to in your letter, as it may respect you. I thought it might render what I should say the more satisfactory, if I took the opinion of others. I accordingly wrote to Bishop Seabury and wished his Sentiments, that my answer to you might contain his, and what you might understand to be the general Sentiments of the clergy in Connecticut.

But alas! on the same week I wrote, he ended all his mortal cares, and painful labours. On thursday evening February twenty fifth he suddenly expired. To all appearance perfectly well, he walked with his Daughter Maria to Mr. Roswell Saltonstall's, when there complained of an extreme pain in his stomach or breast, and expired with (in) forty minutes after he entered the house. By his death we have suffered a loss to our church, perhaps irreparable. He was justly considered as a man of singular abilities, universally admired in the pulpit, his method of delivery was grave and commanding, his discourses, by the best Judges, were esteemed uncommonly solid, clear, and instructing. As a Bishop he conducted with great prudence, filled his office with dignity, and lived in perfect harmony with the clergy. Such qualities and behaviour failed not closely to attach the clergy to him, and to secure the reverence and Affection of the church at large throughout his diocese. What effect his death will have upon our church, what will be done, time must reveal. Bishop Seabury was a man who thought and

spoke for himself, what he spoke he thought. You may be sure when he said, he knew of no obstacle to your being consecrated in America, he fully believed there was none. By being personally known, I conceive the cannon means, such full information of the character and reputation of the person, as enables those who subscribe the Testimonial, to do it with integrity & confidence, that he is qualified and fit for the office for which he is recommended. Residence is not mentioned, therefore not required as a condition. Your continued communications & correspondence with your friends and Brethren in these parts, will not admit the words, "for the three years last past," to be made use of against you. To a number of the Clergy, and more of the Laity still living you are personally known, in the most comprehensive sense the word is ordinarily used. As a native and citizen you hold property in this State, and may, when ever you please return and occupy it.

You cannot therefore be considered as a foreigner.

Mr. Jay must have formed his opinion of the cannons and general convention from some Reporter, not from his own reading. This, I think, any one may see who will read what, I ever thought, is absurdly called the constitution of the protestant episcopal Church etc. In that instrument the church is considered by States. No State can be represented, nor have a voice in the general convention without having acceded to and subscribed that instrument. Actual subscription then limits the convention, and determines how far it is general; it also determines what Churches are bound by the cannons. I know not that the Bishops are laid under any restraint in respect of their consecrating a Bishop for a State not in the union. They being at liberty to act discretionary in that case, all that they could be obliged to, or could properly require, would be that the Testimonials should be in manner and form, as prescribed by the cannon.

What you relate of Bishop Provost and Dr. Beach, I heard something of the last June at New York from Dr. Leaming; I mentioned it to Dr. Beach, he said he knew of no such cannon (None, I suppose that would admit of such a sense, or that was so worded) he then assured me that he had never written a syllable to the Archbishop of Canterbury upon any such Business, and did not believe Bishop Provost had; and further that he had never conversed with the Bishop about you. I only replied that something of that tenor must have appeared there from somebody, or you would not have written in that manner, and expressed my surprise. At that time I inquired of your Son Bordsey who told me he did not think a Letter would find you in London, as he supposed, if you was not on your passage to America then, you would be soon.

What you speak of as having passed at Lambeth, I am to suppose was not hearsay. But I observe you name Dr. Jewet for your author as to many things you say of Dr.

Beach. That Gentleman left America with a mind very unfriendly to Dr. Beach. How far personal resentments may have carried him, and what allowances are to be made in respect of what is said under those circumstances, I leave with you to judge.

I take leave to observe that in the latter part of your letter there are some expressions, for the meaning of which, considered as yours, I am at a loss; viz. "Episcopacy in new-england against the hierarchy in the south." By the the former do you mean the nonsense of presbyterian episcopacy in opposition to the true episcopal hierarchy? If not why the distinction between episcopacy and hierarchy? Do you not know that the convention at Philadelphia in 1789, declared unequivocally their belief in the validity of the connecticut episcopate, and formed the union of the eastern and southern Church upon one episcopate—Episcopacy is an hierarchy. You mention Dr. Styles,—has he, since he made his exit from hence, made you a visit, and converted you to the faith of episcopacy without an hierarchy? Even Styles, if he is suffered to converse with the renowned Fathers of the church I trust, e'er this knows better. As little to my understanding do you speak, in saying—when you adopt an hierarchy farewell episcopacy, and welcome to monarchy and popery, the twin Sisters, etc. What could Dr. Styles have said more? Whither are you got, into what are you transformed?—a sour republican and presbyterian? Monarchy and popery are not twin Sisters, nor yet twin Brothers, for the one is certainly much older than the other. Let popery be a bantling of Pandora's Box—Yet I cannot think the King of Salem, and priest of the most high God was ever in such a Box. While I remember so ancient a monument of monarchy and priesthood, and consider that his antitype, the captain of our Salvation is also a Monarch and high-priest, and that he acknowledg'd the authority of both pilate and Caesar to be from heaven, I cannot feel myself disposed to think so hatefully, or speak so reproachfully of either of those dignitaries, lest I should rail against God.

If you covet no acquaintance with an hierarchy, why have you ever thought of being a Bishop? There are those among us, who think you have not had the generous treatment they wish you to have met with, but you will allow me to say I am sorry to find that disappointment, and your Ideas of maletreatment, should cloud your mind with so dark and violent a resentment as to cause a language to fall from your pen, which may be grateful to dissenters and infidels, but to the real friends of episcopacy and the church, can give no pleasure.

I thank Dr. Mosely for his friendly remembrance of me, and beg you to give him my compliments and hearty good wishes. Mrs. Jarvis requests your acceptance of her most

friendly compliments, and wishes to see you once more at our little old parsonage in Middletown. Whether we shall ever enjoy that pleasure, God knoweth. However you may determin, and God may order, the same friendly Sentiments and benevolent wishes I have ever entertained toward you, will abide with me. In confidence that you will not doubt this, I trust you will continue to believe me, tho' unavailing, your real friend and Brother.

Abraham Jarvis.

Addressed—

The Rev^d. Dr. Samuel Peters
N^o. 53 Westsmithfield
London

CATALOGUE OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION

NOTE.—This alphabetical list of the Archives of the General Convention was compiled in 1926 by the late Reverend Edwin B. Rice, who was custodian of the Archives. It is now printed for the first time for the information of students of the history of this Church and for reference in future years.—EDITOR.

A

Adams, Rt. Rev. Dr., Letter of resignation.
Altar Service, in sheets.
Altar Service Book, in red Morocco.
Altar Service Book of the Church of England, 1710.
Altar Service Book inclosed in box.
America, Petition to have name inserted in Hymnal.
American Chapels on the Continent, Reports of.
American Chapel in Paris, Consecration of.
American Bishops, Consecration of, to Canterbury.
Anti-Vivisection, Memorial in regard to.
Arkansas, Ceding northern portion of.
Army and Navy, Committee on.
Asheville, Constitution and Canons of.
Auchmuty, Rev. Dr. Samuel, Mss. sermon.

B

Bacon, T. S., *In re*: Inspiration of the Bible.
Bailey, Rev. William, Old Letters of, 1777-1802.
Bass, Rt. Rev. Edward, Testimonials (in folio).
Bible, Baskerville's (two volumes).
Bible, House of Deputies use, red Morocco.
Bible, Cambridge edition.
Bible, Copy of Standard.
Bible, English (1611) encased in ebony box.
Bible, Literatim Reprint of English Bible (1611).
Bible, Marginal Readings, Report 1901.
Bible, Standard Copy of the Great Bible, 1538.
Bible, The Bishop's Version with Apocrypha, first edition.
Bishops, Consecration of American Bishops.
Bishops, Consecration and Translations.
Bishops, Consecrated from 1916-1919.
Bishops-Elect, Testimonials, a package of.
Bishops, English Successors from 330 A. D. to 1900.
Bishops, Letters of Consecration, No. 1 to 259.
Bishops, Letters of Consecration, No. 260-283.
Bishops of Church of England, Consecrations.
Bishops, Testimonials, in filing boxes.
Bishops, House of:
Messages from 1871, 1874, 1877, 1880, 1883, 1886, 1892, 1895, in bound volumes.
Original Minutes, 1871, 1878, 1884, 1887, 1888 to 1902.

- Original Minutes, 1901, and Special Sessions, 1899, 1900, in bound volume.
- Original Minutes, 1907, and Special Session, 1905, in bound volume.
- Original Minutes, 1904, and Special Session, 1902, in bound volume.
- Manuscript Journal, 1804.
- Bishops, Trial of (private).
- Book Annex, 1883-1885.
- Bowen, Nathaniel, Bishop of South Carolina, Testimonials.
- Boxford Church History.
- Brazil, The Proposed Concordat.
 - Memorial from.
 - Report of Bishop Peterkin.
 - Church, Papers in regard to.
- Burgess' Mss. Catalogue of Deacons, 1785-1858.
- Burgess' List of Deacons (printed), 1785-1858.

C

- California, Memorial from Diocese, 1874.
- Canons of 1808, printed.
- Canons, Proposed amendment to Canon 53.
- Canons, Revision of, 1904.
- Canon No. 19, Papers *in re*.
- Canada, Notification of Consecration of Bishops.
 - Greetings from the Church in.
- Canterbury, Archbishop, Appeal in behalf of Armenians.
 - Notification of Consecrations.
 - Letter from.
 - Presence at Boston.
 - Notification of Consecrations.
 - Letter *in re* Third Jubilee S. P. G.
- Candidates for Holy Orders, Paper on decrease of.
- Chase, Rev. Philander, Letters.
- Chase, Rt. Rev. Dr., Register of Consecrations.
- Central America, Transfer of, papers *in re*.
- China, Anglican Communion in.
- China and Corea, Clergy and Laity, Condition of.
- China and Japan, Papers.
- China, Missionary work in.
- Church Temperance Society, Report of.
- Church Unity Society, Report of (1886).
- Church Club of New York, Memorial *in re* Philippines.
- Church School for Girls, Washington, D. C.
- Chinese Exclusion Act, Paper *in re*.
- Christian Education, Report in.
- Chaplains, Papers in regard to.
- Chronicles of Convocation in 32 volumes.
- Church of England and Church of Sweden, Report, 1911.
- Church, General, Hawks', 1689-1763.
- Clark, Bishop, Report of.
- Clergy, Lists (Biographical), 1884-1885.
 - List, with ordinations, etc.
 - List, 1884-1886.
- Colored People, Memorial from Church Workers.

Colorado, Constitution and Canons.
 Colorado, Shepherd's Crook.
 Confederate States, Journals of, 1865.
 Connecticut, Hawks' Mss., 1706-1781.
 Connecticut, Chronological Events, 1706-1781.
 Constitution, Amendments to, 1901.
 Constitutions and Canons, 1892.
 Consecration of Bishops, Letters of Consecrations.
 Cranmer, Archbishop, photograph.
 Credentials of Deputies.
 Crapsey, Rev. Algeron S., Documents and papers *in re* trial of.
 Convocation of the Church of England, Memorial to the Bishops and Clergy of the
 P. E. Church.
 Cummins, Rt. Rev. George D., Bishop of Kentucky, Trial of.

D

Dallas, Setting aside the District of.
 Danish Church and Clergy, 1826.
 Deacons Ordained, List of: Bishop Burgess.
 Downing.
 Duncan.
 Dehon, Theodore, Bishop of South Carolina (Testimonials).
 Delaware, Colonial History by Bishop Perry.
 Delaware, Hawks' Manuscript, 1706-1782.
 Doane, Geo. W., Bishop of New Jersey (Testimonials).
 Documentary History of the P. E. Church in Connecticut.
 Domestic and Foreign Mission Society Appeal, 1838.

E

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 Eastern Diocese, Journals of.
 Eastern Church Association, Memorial from.
 Ecclesiastical Record of State of New York, 6 volumes.
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 Eighth Department, Memorial from.

F

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 Florida, Transcripts of.
 Fogg Letters, and sermon preached in 1769.
 Foreign Chapels, Report on.
 Forrester, Rev. Henry, Action *in re* death of.
 Fowler, Andrew, Biographical sketch of Clergy, in 3 volumes.
 Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, Petition to.
 French Republic, Petition to *in re* Armenians.
 Funsten, Rt. Rev. Dr., Letter of acceptance of election.

G

Galleher, Rt. Rev. J. N., Consecration of.
 Georgia and Florida, Hawks' Mss., 1737-1766.
 General Convention, 1871 and 1874.
 1892 (package).
 1910, Order of service.
 1910, Reports, etc.

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- 1916, Arrangements for.
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- General Convention Journals, 1785-1814.
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 - Journals, bound copy of original editions, 1785-1814, collected by Bishop White, of Pennsylvania.
 - Journals, Set of.
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 - Liturgical, 1886-1889.
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 - Catalogue of Officers and students.
 - Plan of seminary building.
- Griswold, Rt. Rev. Dr., Sermon by, 1818.
- Address at Convocation, 1825.

H

- Haiti, Papers *in re*.
 - Facts in regard to.
 - Documents *in re*.
- Hankow, Constitution and Canons of.
 - Division of.
- Hart, Rev. Dr., Index of Journals received.
 - Miscellaneous letters to.
 - Miscellaneous letters.
- Hawks, Transcripts, Manuscripts.
 - Miscellaneous manuscripts.
 - A folio of miscellaneous letters, 1830.
 - Letters to.
- Historical Club Facsimiles.
- Herzog, Rt. Rev., Official greetings, etc.
- Hobart, Rt. Rev. Dr., Letters to (in paper box).
 - Correspondence (6 volumes).
 - Correspondence (package of letters).
 - Correspondence, 1802-1830.
 - Correspondence for Volume VII.
- Home and Abroad, 1870-1876.
- Honolulu, Memorial from, 1901.
 - Conference with.
 - Report to Confer with.
 - Miscellaneous papers.
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BOOK REVIEWS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN CATHOLICISM.
*By Wilfred L. Knox, M. A., and Alex R. Vidler,
M. A. With Foreword by Frank Gavin, Ph. D.,
Th. D., LL. D. Morehouse Publishing Co., Mil-
waukee. Pp. 320.*

THIS book is as valuable as it is timely. It is the one work which was needed in this Centennial year to aid in the formation of a balanced judgment of the Tractarian Movement. If the value of that Movement is to be judged—as eventually it must—by its fruits, an understanding of its development is essential. Knox and Vidler have here traced that development in brilliant fashion. Beginning with the Movement of 1833 as a reaction against the growing liberalism of that day, they trace its course throughout the profound changes in life and thought during these hundred years. It is an invaluable study of what has come to be known as “Liberal Catholicism,” which first found expression in *Lux Mundi* and later in *Essays Catholic and Critical* and the works of Father Thornton and Professor Taylor. The tone throughout is kindly, but never wanting in candid criticism. Keble, Pusey and Liddon are revered as leaders, but in so far as their theology was static, it is frankly disavowed. Modern Catholicism has undertaken the task of “adjusting theology to the needs of the time.” The history of that adjustment is told in these pages in a fascinating fashion.

CHARLES PARISH, YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA.
HISTORY AND REGISTERS. BIRTHS 1648-1789.
DEATHS 1665-1787. *By Landon C. Bell. Pub-
lished by the Virginia State Library Board. Rich-
mond: Division of Purchase and Printing. 1932.
Pp. 285.*

THE Virginia State Library has again placed students of the early history of the Church in that State under great obligations by adding this volume to their previous publications. The beginnings of Charles Parish are shrouded in obscurity, but it is known to have

existed many years prior to 1654. Included in this volume are a history of the parish; a chapter devoted to its ministers, and a brief description of the Parish Register. The ministers begin with Charles Grundy in 1645 and end with Samuel Shield, who died in 1793. The Register of this parish contains earlier entries than any other Virginia parish and continue for a longer period. They begin in 1648 and end in 1789. The Register has been deciphered with the most painstaking care by Mr. Landon C. Bell, himself a devoted son of Virginia. For the sake of easier reference they are here printed in two alphabetical lists—one for the births; the other for the deaths. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by a full index of names.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

EARLY EPISCOPAL SUNDAY SCHOOLS (1814-1865).

By Clifton Hartwell Brewer. Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee. A. R. Mowbray & Co., London. Pp. 179.

AN admirable supplement to the same author's History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church. Beginning with the earliest days of the Sunday Schools of the Episcopal Church the method, personnel, administration and curriculum are fully described. Dr. Brewer excels in his account of reading matter and school libraries and the periodical literature of the times and also of the teaching material. He might with advantage, from the historical point of view, enlarge upon the two rival Sunday School Societies, for that controversy has an important bearing on the life of this Church and was part of the clash and conflict between High and Low Churchmen. On page 12 the Rev. Robert B. Croes is listed as "a future Bishop." This is an error. John Croes, who was Bishop of New Jersey, died in 1832. A word of praise must be given to the very full index which in a work of this kind is indispensable.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

A PIONEER MISSIONARY. *By the Rt. Rev. Lemuel H. Wells, S. T. D., D. D., D. C. L., LL. D., Missionary Bishop of Spokane. Progressive Printing Co., Seattle, Washington. Pp. 167.*

IN comparatively small compass Bishop Wells has packed the fascinating story of pioneer missionary work on the far-flung border of the Pacific. After serving in the Civil War, he graduated from the Berkeley Divinity School in 1869 and traveled West on one of the first trains to cross the continent and began his missionary work under Bishop Morris, who had charge of Oregon, Washington and northern Idaho. The story of his labors oft from that time is told in these pages. They enshrine a remarkable picture of frontier life and the adventures and dangers inseparable from a new and undeveloped country. Bishop Wells shares with the late Bishop Anson R. Graves the record of undertaking parochial work after resigning from the missionary episcopate. He has told his story modestly and well and has made a valuable contribution to the beginnings of the Church in the Oregon country.

BISHOP SEABURY. *By Rev. George T. Linsley, D. D. With Unpublished Letters of Bishop Samuel Seabury and Bishop John Skinner.*

THE EPISCOPATE OF SAMUEL SEABURY, *By Rev. George T. Linsley.*

SEABURY CENTENNIAL LETTERS FROM SCOTLAND. *By Samuel Hart. Historical.*

SEABURY SESQUICENTENNIAL SERMON. *By Rev. George Thomas Linsley, D. D. Church Missions Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut.*

IN view of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the election of Samuel Seabury as Bishop of Connecticut, these publications are both timely and valuable. Dr. Linsley's Historical Sermon is an admirable discussion of the historic "Connecticut churchmanship." The hitherto unpublished Seabury letter was written from London shortly after his consecration to Bishop John Skinner of Aberdeen and contains a caustic criticism of the proposed constitution of the Church in America.

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OF THE
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From the Jarvis Papers

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EDITORIAL NOTES

THIS issue brings to a close the second year of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. The Editors are more than ever convinced that there is need for such a publication. There is a large amount of unpublished valuable manuscript material. The Archives of the General Convention are an illustration. The manuscript Journals of Bishop Jackson Kemper, the first Missionary Bishop of this Church, have been published in small part by the Wisconsin Historical Society, but the remainder await publication. The same is true of the Journals of Bishop Ravenscroft of North Carolina. Such records are invaluable. Under normal circumstances they can only be made available in such a magazine as this.

Like all periodicals and church papers, the Magazine has had difficult going. The subscriptions do not, as yet, meet the cost of printing and mailing. Continuance has only been made possible by the generous help of interested friends. It must be plainly stated that without an increase in the subscription list the Magazine cannot go on beyond the coming year. A modest two hundred subscriptions would meet all costs. The Editors, the Treasurer and the writers of articles do not receive a penny for their services. We therefore appeal to all who are interested in the preservation of the history of this Church to aid in securing an increased circulation for 1934.

THE REVEREND ALEXANDER GARDEN

I.

By Edgar Legare Pennington

THE BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN SOUTH CAROLINA

THE earliest evidence of the presence of an Anglican clergyman on South Carolina soil comes from the pen of one Morgan Jones. In a letter written from New York, March 10th, 1685-6, Mr. Jones described his experiences, as follows:—

“These Presents may certify all Persons whatsoever, that in the Year 1660, I being then an Inhabitant in *Virginia*, and Chaplain to Major General *Bennet* of *Manseman* County, the said Major *Bennet* and Sir *William Berkley* sent two Ships to *Port-Royal*, now called *South-Carolina*, which is 60 Leagues to the Southward of *Cape Fair*; and I was sent therewith to be their Minister. Upon the 8th of *April* we set out from *Virginia*, and arriv’d at the Harbour’s Mouth of *Port-Royal* the 19th of the same Month, where we waited for the rest of the Fleet that was to sail from *Barbadoes* and *Bermuda* with one Mr. *West*, who was to be Deputy-Governor of the said Place. As soon as the Fleet came in, the small Vessels that were with us sail’d up the River to a Place called the *Oyster-Point*. There I continued about eight Months; all which Time being almost starved for want of Provisions, I and five more travell’d thro’ the Wilderness ’till we came to the *Tuscorara* Country: There the *Tuscorara Indians* took us Prisoners, because we told them we were bound for *Roanok*: That Night they carried us into their Town, and shut us up close by ourselves, to our no small Dread. The next Day they enter’d into a Consultation about us; which after it was over, their Interpreter told us, that we must prepare ourselves to die next Morning. Whereupon being very much dejected, and speaking to this Effect in the *British* Tongue, ‘Have I escaped so many Dangers, and must I now be knocked on the Head like a Dog?’ Then presently an *Indian* came to me, which afterwards appear’d to be a War-Captain belonging to the *Sachim* of the *Doegs* (whose Original I find must needs be from the old *Britons*)

and took me up by the Middle, and told me in the British Tongue, *I should not die*: And thereupon went to the Emperor of *Tuscorara*, and agreed for my Ransom and the Men that were with me. They then welcomed us to their Town, and entertained us very civilly and cordially four Months; during which Time, I had the Opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the *British* Language; and *did preach to them three Times a Week in the same Language*; and they would usually confer with me about any thing that was difficult therein; and at our Departure they abundantly supply'd us with whatever was necessary to our Support and Well-being. They are seated upon *Pontigo-River*, not far from *Cape-Atros*. This is a brief Recital of my Travels among the *Doeg Indians*.”¹

Mr. Jones does not mention any religious service held by him at Port Royal. He was a Welshman; and as a postscript to his letter declared his readiness to conduct any Welshman or others to the country. Afterwards he became a missionary at Newtown, Long Island, and served other places in New York.²

Though Dalcho, the leading Church historian of South Carolina, has placed Mr. Jones at the head of his list of clergy, a later authority regards this letter as “a mere fabrication.” If Mr. Jones met the expedition from Barbadoes and Bermuda which he mentioned, so Edward McCrady argues, “it is clear that he antedated the event by ten years. He states that he remained in the colony at Oyster Point for eight months. It will be observed that the colony first settled Old Town on the Ashley in 1670 and was not removed to Oyster Point until 1680. Nor can we reconcile his statement by supposing it a mere mistake as to his date, for the date was the very point about which his letter was written, the object of it being to show that the title of England to America by possession was prior to that of Spain.”³

On the 24th of March, 1663, King Charles the Second granted a charter to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, and other noblemen who had petitioned for land. In making their request, the applicants alleged as their motive, a “zest for the propagation of the Christian faith in a country not yet cultivated or planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who had no knowledge of God.”⁴ The charter they received established the Church, but permitted and enjoined religious toleration.

Prospective English settlers under Colonel William Sayle visited

¹*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1740, Vol. X., 104.

²*Bolton: Westchester Church*, 259-260.

³*McCrady: Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 330.

⁴*Dalcho: Historical Account . . . Church in S. C.*, 1.

Port Royal in 1670. They remained there only a short time, however; then they removed to the western bank of the Ashley river, where the prospects for pasturage and tillage were more favourable. There they laid the foundation of what is now Charleston. Other settlers arrived. The settlement was fortified; additional defences were erected later. On June 25th, 1670, Sayle wrote Lord Ashley, that "there is one thing which lyes very heavy upon us, the want of a Godly and orthodox Minist^r w^{ch} I and many others of us have ever lived under as the greatest of o^r Mercys." He suggested one Mr. Sampson Bond, in the Bermudas, "under whose powerfull and soul-defying Ministry I have lived eight yeeres last past," as very desirable.⁵ Lord Ashley was one of the proprietors; and by his order, of date November 1st, 1670, the settlement was officially named Charles Town.⁶ It may be noted here that Mr. Bond's services were not obtained.

Governor Sayle's health, because of his great age and the fatigue and exposure incident to the settling of the colony, soon failed. He died in March, 1671, at the age of about eighty.⁷ On the 4th of March, he sent for his Council, and nominated Joseph West as his successor.

Sir John Yeamans expected to be appointed governor at Sayle's death; and at a meeting of the Grand Council, the following December, he asserted his right to the office under the Fundamental Constitutions. There was considerable opposition; but Yeamans had already been commissioned as governor, his commission being dated August 21st, 1671.⁸

With the commission of governor to Yeamans, the Lords Proprietors sent out a commission as surveyor general to John Culpeper, who had come out with him from Barbadoes.⁹ Culpeper appears to have entered at once upon his duties; while West was still governor, he made a rough draught or sketch of the settlement of Charles Town for the proprietors, giving the location of the tracts of land and townlots taken up by the colonists. In this plat, he marked a certain tract of three hundred acres as "Land reserved by Governor & Coun-

⁵McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under thr Proprietary Govt.*, 131; *Shaftesbury Papers, Calendar State Papers, Colonial (Sainsbury)*, 1889, pp. 202, 489; *Year Book City of Charleston (Courtenay)*, 1883, p. 374.

⁶*Collections, S. C. Hist. Soc.*, V., 210; McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 145.

⁷*Hist. Sketches of S. C. (Rivers)*, 96; McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 138.

⁸McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 157-158.

⁹McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 160; *Calendar State Papers, Colonial (Sainsbury)*, 1889, p. 688.

sell to be disposed of at their pleasure, I suppose for a minister or governor.”¹⁰

Sir John Yeamans was proclaimed governor at Charles Town the 19th of April, 1672.¹¹ Among his first acts, he proceeded to lay out the site of another town. The town thus laid off extended no further west than the present Meeting street, nor further north than Broad street, nor further south than Water street.¹² It was not intended to abandon the old town on the Ashley. In June, 1672, an act was passed for the uniform rebuilding of the town; and in accordance with that act, the old town was laid out anew and divided into sixty-two lots.¹³

As early as 1672, settlers began to move into the territory now occupied by the city of Charleston. On the 17th of December, 1679, in response to representations which had been made, the Lords Proprietors wrote Governor West and the Council:— “We are informed that this Oyster Point is not only a more convenient place to build a town on than that formerly pitched by the first settlers, but that the people’s inclinations turn thither; we let you know that Oyster Point is the place we do appoint for the port town of which you are to take notice and call it Charles Town.”¹⁴

In the spring of 1680, the removal to the new town was made; and during the same year thirty houses were erected. It was called for awhile New Charles Town, to distinguish it from the old town; but from 1682, it was known for a century simply as Charles Town.¹⁵

The settlers who arrived represented various religious persuasions. Soon, however, they began to reveal the effect of their separation from religious restraint. The Grand Council saw fit to order that none should retail strong drink or keep a tippling house without a license. A law was enacted for keeping the Lord’s day sacred and suppressing “idle, drunken, and swearing persons.” There were other important acts designed to remedy the demoralization.¹⁶

That a site was reserved for a church in the new town is evident from a letter written in 1682 by a gentleman “T—— A——” (supposed to be Thomas Ash), who had been on board the “Richmond,” a ship which had brought out some French Protestants. “The town,” said the writer, “is regularly laid out into large and capacious streets, which to buildings is a great ornament and beauty.

¹⁰McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 160.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 160.

¹²*Ibid.*, 163.

¹³*Ibid.*, 163.

¹⁴*Hist. Sketches of S. C. (Rivers)*, 128-129; *Collections, S. C. Hist. Soc.*, I., 102-103; McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 182.

¹⁵McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 182.

¹⁶Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V., 308.

In it they have reserved convenient places for a church, town-house, and other public structures, an artillery ground for the exercise of their militia, and wharves for the convenience of their trade and shipping."¹⁷

On the 14th of January, 1681, Originall Jackson and Meliscent his wife deeded four acres of ground for a church, stating in their instrument of gift that they were "excited with a pious zeal for the propagation of the true Christian religion," and that the divine service to be carried on should be "according to the form and liturgy of the Church of England, now established"; also that the service was "to be duly and solemnly done and performed by Atkin Williamson, cleric, his heirs and assigns forever in our church or house of worship to be erected and built upon our piece or parcel of ground."¹⁸ The location of this land has not been identified. Mr. Jackson owned some land on the Cooper river in 1672; but it is not known that he owned any land in or near the town. There were no settlements out of town in 1680 large enough to afford a congregation.

The first church was erected about 1682—the first Episcopal church in Carolina. It was placed at the site set apart for a house of worship at the famous corner of Broad and Meeting, where St. Michael's stands to-day—a spot dear to all who have felt the charm and atmosphere of old Charleston. The structure was of black cypress, although the foundation was of brick. For lime, the workmen burnt the heaps of oyster-shells which had been piled thick along the river-banks near the coast. There were generous gifts, and the church had a happy start. It was usually spoken of as the English Church, but the real name was St. Philip's.¹⁹

The Reverend Atkin Williamson was evidently on hand when the church was built. In 1709, he petitioned the General Assembly "to be considered for his services in officiating as minister of Charles Town."²⁰ By the act of 1710-11, the Assembly appropriated £30 for Mr. Williamson's support, stating that he "had grown so disabled with age, sickness, and other infirmities, that he could not longer attend to the duties of his ministerial function, and was so poor that he could not maintain himself."²¹ It is reputed that he was inclined to strong drink;²² but such a weakness was regarded more indulgently in those days than at present, and most probably the minister felt the strain of pioneer conditions. His active ministry may have come

¹⁷*McCrary: Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt., 182-183.*

¹⁸*Dalcho: Historical Account . . . Church in S. C., 26.*

¹⁹*Ibid., 26; McCrary: Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt., 183.*

²⁰*McCrary: Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt., 332.*

²¹*Dalcho: Historical Account . . . Church in S. C., 32.*

²²*S. P. G. A-4 (Letter of Jan. 16, 1708), Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

to a close in 1696, when the Reverend Samuel Marshall was appointed to the place.

As early as 1690, a law was passed in the province, declaring that emancipation of the slaves did not result from their baptism.²³ As efforts to Christianise the negroes were prominent in the ecclesiastical history of the Carolina province, it is well to note this fact in its chronological order. It may be said, that in all the English colonies the clergy tried hard to persuade the slave-owners that their slaves were more than chattels and that they were entitled to religious instruction. The Church of England was deeply interested in missionary work among the strange races—the negroes and the Indians; and the letters forwarded to the missionaries contained many reminders of their duty to the poor heathen. But the missionaries encountered obstacles, in the indifference of the slave-owners and the persistent fear that baptism would imply freedom.

The Reverend Mr. Marshall left a considerable benefice in England, for the precarious struggles of a colonial clergyman. He was an able and learned man. On arriving in South Carolina, he must have foreseen the difficulties ahead. There were only fifty to be found in his congregation; but he made a good impression and the number increased.²⁴ The General Assembly, on the 8th of October, 1698, passed an act, settling a salary on him; in the bill he was referred to as "a sober, pious, worthy, able and learned Divine," characterised by "exemplary life and good doctrine." He was officially appointed by the Assembly as "minister of Charles Town, during his life, or so long as he shall think fit to continue in this colony."²⁵ It was also enacted that a negro man and woman, and four cows and calves be purchased for his use and paid for out of the public treasury.²⁶ In this manner, provision for his support was fixed as a public item of expense: and this act was the commencement of a series of measures tending to strengthen the establishment of the Anglican Church in South Carolina.

In 1697, the General Assembly had granted liberty of conscience to all Protestants.²⁷ For some years, French Huguenots had been settling in the province and had planted homes there. They were destined to wield a large influence in American history, through their descendants.

Mrs. Affra Coming, the widow of one of the first settlers, made a gift in 1698 of seventeen acres of ground, adjoining the town, for the

²³*McCord: Statutes of S. C., VII., 343.*

²⁴*Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 37, p. 18.*

²⁵*Hawks and Perry: Documentary Hist. of the Church in S. C., 33.*

²⁶*Dalcho: Historical Account . . . Church in S. C., 33.*

²⁷*Trott's Laws, 74-75.*

church.²⁸ It is evident that the Church was built on a strong foundation; a healthy sentiment was moulded by Marshall's character.

The same year, Charles Town received the donation of a library through the generosity of the Reverend Thomas Bray, commissary of the Bishop of London for the province of Maryland. A large number of libraries were presented in the colonies by the efforts of that far-sighted English clergyman, who was desirous that the colonists should not be separated from intellectual influences. In most cases, the books were designed for the property of the parish, and the priest was to be the custodian. There are few particulars in which the Church of England may take greater pride than in the introduction of the lending library into America.

A list of the books sent to Charles Town, entitled "A Register of the Books Sent tow^d Laying the Foundacon of a Provincial Library in Charles Town in Carolina," is preserved in Volume II. of Doctor Bray's *Bibliothecæ Provinciales Americanæ*,²⁹ in the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In this register, we find the books—many of them expensive folios—classified under the following heads:—

- I. Script: & Commentators (20 titles).
- II. Fathers and Antient Writers (9 titles).
- III. Apologies for y^e Authority of the H. Script. and y^e Truth of the X^{an} Religion (6 titles).
- IIII. Bodies of Divinity both Catechetical & Scholastical (15 titles).
- V. On y^e General Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace (4 titles).
- VI. On y^e Creed both y^e whole Body of Credenda and other particular Articles (25 titles).
- VII. On Moral Laws & X^{an} Duties (28 titles).
- VIII. Vpon Repentance (5 titles).
- IX. Of Divine Assistance pray^r and y^e Sacraments those means of performing y^e Foregoing Articles (9 titles).
- X. Sermons (15 titles).
- XI. Modern Controversy (15 titles).
- XII. Ministerial (7 titles).
 - I. Humanity viz^t Ethicks and Oeconomicks (7 titles).
 - II. Polity and Law (no titles).
 - III. History & its Apendages Chronology Geography Voyages and Travails (38 titles).

²⁸ McCrady: *Hist of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 333.

²⁹ Bray: *Bibliothecæ Provinciales Americanæ*, Vol. II., 58-78. (There is a photofilm enlargement in the Library of Congress, in the S. P. G. material.)

- III. Physiology Anatomy Chirurgery & Medicine (14 titles).
- V. Mathem^{tiks} & Trade (5 titles).
- VI. Grammars & Lexicons (7 titles).
- VII. Rhetorick (no titles).
- VIII. Logick (no titles).
- IX. Poetry (2 titles).
- X. Miscellanies (one title).

On the 16th of August, 1701, some more books—five titles, making a total value of £3, 12s, for the supplementary gift—were sent “to Augm^t the Library of Charles Town Carolina.”³⁰

In Charles Town, from the start, the Assembly looked on the library as a public responsibility. On the 25th of November, 1698, the Assembly passed resolutions of gratitude to Doctor Bray. In fact, October 8th, a committee had been directed to write to the Bishop of London and Doctor Bray and give the thanks of the House for their pious care and pains in providing and sending a minister of the Church of England and “laying a foundation for a good and public library.”³¹ Provision was promptly made for buying more books.

Doctor Bray could not have carried on his splendid activities without assistance; and he had received donations from various individuals, noblemen, clergymen, and societies; and by the time he departed for Maryland, in 1699, he had collected £2488, 15s. The sum total of the value of books sent into the American plantations, of the charges of marking the covers of the volumes, of soliciting gifts, and of other expenses amounted by that time to £2958, 13s., 4d.³² In the doctor's account book, we find that the proprietors of Carolina contributed £30 to the cause, and that he received from “The Colony of Carolina at Present and in promise” £224.³³ The value of the library sent to Charles Town by him was listed in the same book at £300.³⁴ A study of the list of donors does not reveal the same sense of reciprocal obligation on the part of any other province or colony. The interest evoked by the library renders plausible the conjecture that it was perhaps the first library in America, supported to any degree by public funds.³⁵

On the 16th of November, 1700, an act was ratified by the Gen-

³⁰*Ibid.*, 78.

³¹*Journals of the Commons House of Assembly for 1698.*

³²*Dr. Bray's Accounts: Part I, Being an Account of Benefactions and Libraries for y^e Clergy . . . Anno 1698 To the Time of his Departure for Maryland Anno 1699*, p. 60. (Photofilm in Library of Congress, in S. P. G. material.)

³³*Ibid.*, 15.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 20.

³⁵*McCrary: Hist. of S. C. under the Royal Govt.*, 508.

eral Assembly for securing the provincial library at Charles Town. The preamble recognises Doctor Bray's generosity; and states:—

“Whereas at the Promotion of the Reverend Dr. Thomas Bray, and the Encouragement and Bounty of the Right Honourable the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of this Province, and the aforesaid Dr. Bray, and the Inhabitants of this Province, a Library hath been sent over to Charles Town, for the Use of this Province.”³⁶

By this act, commissioners and trustees were appointed for the preservation of the library. The collection was put in the hands of the minister, to be lent to the inhabitants in succession, under the direction of the commissioners.³⁷ One section of the act provided that “the inhabitants of this province shall have liberty to borrow any book out of the said provincial library, giving a receipt for the same to the incumbent of Charles Town * * * with a promise to return the said book or books.” The commissioners were required to make seven catalogues of all the books—one for the Lords Proprietors in England, one for the Bishop of London, one for Doctor Bray, one for the record of the secretary of the province, one for the custody of the commissioners, one for the wardens of Charles Town, and one to be kept by the incumbent in the said library, “so any person may know what books are contained in the said library.”³⁸

On the 16th of January, 1703, Justice Nicholas Trott informed the House of Commons that Doctor Bray had sent additional books to the public library, together with books for a layman's library. He was instructed to write to the reverend doctor and thank him in behalf of the Assembly.³⁹ The following May, the receiver was instructed to pay for transcribing the catalogue of the library books.⁴⁰ In the Church Acts of 1704 and 1706, a room was reserved in the rectory of the minister of Charles Town for the library.⁴¹

We must leave this refreshing episode, and return to the state of the Church. An epidemic of yellow fever swept Charles Town in 1699 and destroyed nearly a hundred and fifty lives. Mr. Marshall was one of those who died. His death was regarded among the people as a great loss; and the Governor and Council petitioned the Bishop of London to send another such man as the late Mr. Marshall, who “by his regular, sober, and devout life, gave no advantage to the

³⁶*Trott's Laws*, 1-5.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹*MSS. Journals, Commons House of Assembly, 1703; McCrady: Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 353.

⁴⁰*McCrady: Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 353.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 353, 701; *Statutes of S. C.*, Vol. II., 237, 286.

enemies of our Church to speak ill of its ministers; by his sound doctrine the weak sons of our Church he confirmed; by his easy, and, as it were, natural use of the ceremonies of our Church, he took away all occasions of scandal at them; by his prudent and obliging way of living, and manner of practice, he had gained the esteem of all persons."⁴²

The Reverend Edward Marston, his successor, arrived in Charles Town in 1700. He was a Master of Arts; and had published in London a sermon on Simony which attracted attention.⁴³ He continued in charge for five years.

The Reverend William Corbin arrived the same year; and worked among the settlers upon Goose Creek. The Anglican missions gradually spread among the growing rural population. At that time, more than a half of the colonists (to say nothing of the negroes and Indians) were living without the ministrations of religion. There were a few dissenting teachers.⁴⁴

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, usually known as the S. P. G., was founded in 1701. This child of the celebrated Doctor Thomas Bray had more to do with the systematic evangelising of the American colonies than any other agency. Before its inception, the sending of missionaries depended to a large extent upon the caprice of the proprietors of colonial enterprises or upon irregular donations. But from the beginning of the Eighteenth Century till the establishment of American independence, a steady stream of missionaries and schoolmasters poured into the colonies, chosen and generally supported by the Venerable Society. The liberal policy of the S. P. G. has been the subject of frequent comment. So far from obtruding the Episcopal services upon unwilling colonists, the Society several times supported clergymen not episcopally ordained. This was notable in South Carolina, where certain French Huguenot ministers were beneficiaries of the Society.

The first S. P. G. missionary to arrive in Charles Town was the Reverend Samuel Thomas, who reached South Carolina, December 25th, 1702, after a long voyage.⁴⁵ He was accorded a regular annual stipend of £50, with £10 additional allowance, to be laid out in "stuffs for the use of the wild Indians," and £20 for his "farther Encouragement."⁴⁶ He was an earnest, zealous, and tender-hearted man. While his original mission was to the Yamasse Indians, he was prevented because of a war which they were fighting with the

⁴²*Hawks and Perry: Documentary History of the Church in S. C.*, 7.

⁴³*Perry: American Episcopal Church, I.*, 376.

⁴⁴*Humphreys: Hist. Acct. S. P. G.*, 25.

⁴⁵*S. P. G. A-1*, § 83 (*Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*).

⁴⁶*Account of S. P. G.*, 1706, pp. 31-32.

Spaniards from going to them. The stories of the Indians' cruelty—taking scalps, for instance—filled him with distress. The negroes proved more docile.

Mr. Corbin having left the Goose Creek Church and having gone to the Barbadoes,⁴⁷ Mr. Thomas was appointed to the Cooper river district. One of his charges was Goose Creek, where he found "the best and most numerous congregation in all Carolina."⁴⁸ On the borders of civilisation, he discovered that the English settlers were reverting to heathenism; at length he persuaded them to observe Sunday, which had been "generally profaned," and he induced many to "set up the worship of God in their own families." The Holy Communion had not been administered in one district before he came; and "after much pains" he could procure only five communicants at first. The number grew to forty-five.⁴⁹ Impressed with the ignorance, he set up a school and taught twenty-three to read. There was a church at Goose Creek at the time of Mr. Thomas's arrival. Mr. Marston of Charles Town, in a letter dated February 3rd, 1703 (before Mr. Thomas took charge of his field), said that there were no more churches in the country, where the Common Prayer was used, except his own and the one at Goose Creek.⁵⁰

Mr. Thomas died in October, 1706.⁵¹ After his death, he was described in a letter of the Governor and Council as "a person of great piety and virtue * * * exemplary life, diligent preaching, and obliging carriage."⁵²

The Pompion Hill Chapel was constructed in 1703—a small building, thirty feet square, made of cypress. It was erected through private subscriptions and the help of the Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson. Mr. Thomas ministered there. When the actual parish Church of St. Thomas's was begun in 1707, Pompion Hill became a chapel of ease.⁵³

On the 6th of May, 1704, the Assembly passed a law requiring all members of that legislative body to subscribe to the Act of 1678, disabling Papists, requiring the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne, and making the reception of the sacrament according to the use of the Church of England compulsory. This bill caused a good deal of resentment; in fact, it was carried by a majority of only a single vote. Mr. Marston was opposed to the act. He had been a Jacobite before coming to the province, and his sympathies were opposed to

⁴⁷*S. P. G. A-1*, #60 (*Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*).

⁴⁸*Appendix to Journal of Society, A.*, 477-478.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰*S. P. G. A-1*, #60 (*Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*).

⁵¹*Appendix to Journal of Society, A.*, 477-478.

⁵²*Humphreys: Hist. Account, S. P. G.*, 49.

⁵³*S. P. G., New Photostats, S. C.*, ff. 247-248 (*Library of Congress*).

the administration. He had been imprisoned in England on the charge of "railing against the government." Of strong convictions, and, perhaps of a contentious disposition, he expressed himself very forcibly in his sermons. The Assembly ordered him to appear and produce his sermon notes. On his refusal, he was deprived of his salary until he should submit to their jurisdiction.

II.

The Assembly passed another act, November 4th, 1704, establishing the Church of England in the province. The Governor and the dominant faction, as well as Lord Granville, the Palatine, were on the side of the Church. By this law, it was enacted that the Book of Common Prayer and the sacraments and rites of the Church of England be used by "all and every Minister or Reader in every Church which now is, or hereafter shall be settled and by law established, within this province." The act provided for the support of ministers and constituted new parishes. It provided for a board of lay commissioners, to try and remove any minister against whom complaint should be made. This provision subjected ministers to uncertainty and to the possible caprices of the laity. Daniel Defoe, the famous novelist, said, in commenting on this item, that the court would so operate, that "'twill be always true, that when a clergyman has courage either to reprove their vices or oppose any of their arbitrary proceedings, they shall be liable to the censure of those very men they ought to reprove."⁵⁴

Under this law, Mr. Marston was called to account by the commission and deprived of his benefice. Of those who passed on the case, he complained that eleven—there were twenty in all—were never known to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.⁵⁵

The severity of this act may perhaps be explained by the resentment against dissenters which marked the Assembly of January, 1703. The year before, Governor James Moore had conducted an unsuccessful expedition against the Spaniards in Florida. The presence of the Spaniards was the cause of grave concern and anxiety in the early days of the province; there was little security against invasion. The Governor had asked the House to appropriate money for the expedition, and for a second one. He was opposed in this request by the non-conformists, who withdrew from the House rather than accede to his demands. Deprived of a quorum in the legislature,

⁵⁴*Daniel Defoe: Party Tyranny.*

⁵⁵*Dalcho: Historical Account . . . Church in S. C., 63.*

the consideration of other matters of importance was estopped. As a result, there were angry demonstrations against the dissenters.⁵⁶

Whatever the provocation, the act was regarded as objectionable, as discriminatory, and as smacking of a persecuting spirit. There was a large population of non-churchmen; and one will readily agree that the act imposed a hardship. Queen Anne, zealous as she was for the English Church, declared the law null and void. It was repealed, the 30th of November, 1706.

Marston attempted to get reinstated, but did not succeed. He went to the newly established Christ Church Parish, only to be refused by the vestry. "His litigious, contentious temper" stood in his way.⁵⁷ Out of employment, he suffered poverty. This aroused comment; and the Assembly voted £150 for his wife. But Marston himself seemed not to have changed. In October, 1709, the Assembly ordered his prosecution as "a common disturber to the Governor and government." From time to time, the Assembly granted relief to his family, till, in 1712, the obstinate priest left the province.⁵⁸ It is not to be inferred that he was a bad man. Landgrave Thomas Smith, speaker of the House of Commons, wrote a letter in 1709, declaring that "Mr. Marston is publicly known to be a man of good life and conversation. The one fault to be really found in him by his enemies was plain dealing and preaching good orthodox doctrine, and his enemies did not love to have their faults told them."⁵⁹

Another act was passed the 30th of November, 1706, formally establishing the Church of England in South Carolina. It is known as "the Church Act." This law gave much satisfaction to the Lords Proprietors; by it parishes were established, French services were provided for St. Denis, the building of churches and parsonages would be encouraged by a grant from public funds, a salary was to be afforded the ministers, and lay commissioners were to be appointed to collect and handle special funds for church-building in the parishes and to act as supervisors of the building of churches and the enclosing of cemeteries and glebes. With the dissenting population, the act was naturally unpopular.

In the meantime, the supply of ministers fell far below the needs of the colonists. The Reverend Gideon Johnson received the royal bounty for his passage to America on the 11th of February, 1708.⁶⁰ He was sent by the Bishop of London as his representative or commissary at Charles Town. After a disagreeable trip—the rule, not

⁵⁶*Narratives of Early Carolina* (Salley, editor), 221-231.

⁵⁷*Hawks and Perry: Documentary History of the Church in S. C.*, 10.

⁵⁸*Perry: American Episcopal Church, I.*, 377.

⁵⁹*S. C. Historical & Genealogical Mag.*, XXXII., 61-63.

⁶⁰*Fothergill: Emigrant Ministers*, 37.

the exception, in those days of slow travel—he was stranded with his vessel on a sand-bank near the shore, where for twelve days the unfortunate voyagers were without food, drink, or shelter.⁶¹ When he landed, he learned that the Reverend Richard Marsden, a fugitive clergyman from Maryland, had ingratiated himself into receiving a call to St. Philip's Church, and had created a party spirit in his favour. Johnson's entrance into the Church and the parsonage was opposed; but he won out in the end.⁶²

At the outset of his ministry in Charles Town, Mr. Johnson was very unhappy, not only because of the opposition of Marsden's faction, but also because of the discouraging outlook. His fine traits, however, softened the critics; he gradually gained recognition, and performed his services dutifully.⁶³ As differences began to reconcile themselves, he went ahead with evangelical spirit. In a letter to the S. P. G., he said:—

“There is nothing that I more earnestly and frequently strive for than to bring people to a just sense of their duty concerning the Lord's Supper; for I certainly conclude, if I can once persuade them to receive frequently I can easily persuade them to anything else that is holy and good.”⁶⁴

⁶⁴*Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., 380.*

The original St. Philip's Church was in a state of decay; it had become too small for the increasing attendance. An act was passed March 1st, 1711, providing for a new brick building. In accordance with the act, the Church was built on Church street, its present site. In 1727, the old cypress edifice was taken down. At the division of the town into two parishes, in 1751, the territory south of Broad street became St. Michael's Parish; its Church was erected on the spot formerly occupied by the old wooden structure. The new St. Philip's was not finished for some time.

Charles Town was beginning to assume commercial importance. The want of schools had long caused solicitude. The legislature voted to establish a free school for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina, on April 8th, 1710;⁶⁵ but in the political commotion of the time, the project was delayed. Here again the agencies of the Church came to the rescue. The S. P. G. established a school in the town, under the Reverend William Guy, Master of Arts, in 1711.⁶⁶ In this school, the S. P. G. assisted in the education of the children, charging the

⁶¹*Hawkins: Historical Notices, 54.*

⁶²*Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., 377-378.*

⁶³*Humphreys: Hist. Account, S. P. G., 122.*

⁶⁵*McCrary: Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt., 487.*

⁶⁶*Dalcho: Historical Account . . . Church in S. C., 93; McCrary: Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt., 702.*

teachers to take special care of the manners of their pupils, to teach them to abhor lying and falsehood, to avoid evil speaking, and to love truth and honesty.⁶⁷

On the 12th of December, 1712, an act was passed establishing a free school. A stipend was provided by law for the master, who was required to be a member of the Church of England and capable of teaching Latin and Greek, and catechising the youth in the principles of Christianity as professed by the Church.⁶⁸ After the establishment of the free school, the school of the S. P. G. was united with that of the province; but the S. P. G. continued to appoint the masters.

Other schools sprang into being in the province. There were schools started in Dorchester, Childsbury, Beaufort, Ninety-Six, St. Thomas's Parish, and St. James' Santee.⁶⁹ The Reverend Mr. LeJau, a French minister, gave much attention to the conversion and instruction of the Indians and negroes; and he was loud in his protests against the unfair dealings of the white traders.

To further the evangelisation of the negro, the South Carolina Assembly, with much more discernment than the bulk of the population, enacted a law on June 7th, 1712, to counteract the general objection against baptising the slaves. It was declared "lawful for any negro or Indian slave, or any other slave whatsoever, to receive and profess the Christian faith, and to be thereunto baptised"; and a slave was not made free thereby.⁷⁰ The missionaries had argued that the slave's status was not altered by baptism; but the masters remained obdurate—some of them even after the express enactment. The law, however, brought about better co-operation on the part of the slave-owners. In 1713, Mr. LeJau reported to the S. P. G. that he had baptised a negro woman presented by her mistress, and would baptise two other negro women at Easter with the consent of their owners.⁷¹

We return to the Reverend Mr. Johnson and his Charles Town field. Notwithstanding the personal popularity of the minister, many abuses had sprung up because of the great distance from ecclesiastical authority. Johnson was the commissary of the Bishop of London; as such, he was the representative of the recognised diocesan of the American colonies. But the lay commissioners, under the act of the province, were jealous of their prerogatives and were inclined to take the law into their own hands. Ecclesiastical regulations were enacted without consulting the commissary. Clergymen

⁶⁷McCrary: *Hist. of S. C. under the Proprietary Govt.*, 702.

⁶⁸Trott's *Laws*, 60-68.

⁶⁹Ramage: *Local Government and Free Schools in S. C.*

⁷⁰Trott's *Laws*, 74.

⁷¹S. P. G. *Abstract*, 1714, p. 44.

sent to take charge of parishes had difficulty in getting instituted. The commissioners usurped all authority. Johnson found himself powerless to deprive an unworthy clergyman; while, on the other hand, an innocent minister might be deprived of his benefice by a lay board without any redress. The salaries provided for the clergy were paid irregularly at best, and in local currency which was unstable. The important matter of the appointment of a parish clerk and sexton was taken from the rector's control; indeed, the rector was no more than a hireling. A meeting of the clergy was held in Charles Town, the 4th of March, 1713; and a set of grievances was compiled.⁷² When Johnson returned to England the same year, on account of bad health, he presented the grievances. Some of them were redressed.

On that journey, Johnson carried with him a young Yemassee prince, for instruction in Christianity and the English language. The boy was taken under the tutelage of the S. P. G., and was baptised by the Bishop of London under the name of "George." He was also presented to the King.

The terrible Indian war of 1715 was one of the most frightful occurrences of colonial history. The Yemassee Indians, who occupied territory lying between Port Royal Island and the Savannah river, made a cruel outbreak on the white settlers. They were joined by other tribes, from Florida north to the Cape Fear river. On the 15th of April, they began devastating plantations and slaying the luckless inhabitants. For some time, the desolation continued with much bloodshed. The missionaries were heavy sufferers.⁷³ By that time, a number of Anglican missionaries were at work in the outlying parishes of the province.

Commissary Johnson returned, September 18th, in the midst of the trouble. He brought with him the youthful prince, who seemed to deplore the hostilities. His father was a prisoner of war; but George remained an inmate of Mr. Johnson's home, where he was carefully instructed and treated with kindness and sympathy.

The war slowly waned. A year later, it had practically ended. It did not come to a close, however, until about a fifth of the province was entirely depopulated. One of its tragic consequences lay in the fact that it discredited the efforts of the missionaries to arouse a friendly interest in the Indians.

A real calamity occurred on the 23rd of April, 1716. The Reverend Mr. Johnson, with thirty others, went out in a sloop to bid

⁷²*S. P. G., S. C. MSS., I., 355-384.*

⁷³*Pennington: Indian War as Seen by the Clergymen (S. C. Historical & Genealogical Mag., XXXII., 251-267).*

farewell to the Governor, the Honourable Charles Craven. When the parting was over, a storm arose and the sloop was overset. The faithful minister was drowned, while the others were saved. His body was washed ashore. When recovered, it was buried at Charles Town, with every demonstration of grief and reverence.

A growing sentiment in favour of the clergy brought home the realisation that conditions had not been made attractive for the ministers. Some of them had shown heroic qualities during the late warfare, and the death of Commissary Johnson had been a severe shock. So in 1717, the Assembly made an additional appropriation for their support.

Mr. Guy, who resigned his school in 1714, was succeeded by the Reverend John Whitehead, who served as assistant to the rector of St. Philip's. When Mr. Whitehead's duties became too heavy at the Church for proper attention to his pupils, he was followed by the Reverend Thomas Morritt, who went to England in 1717 for ordination. Mr. Morritt was an ambitious man. His classical curriculum would astound us to-day. Industrious, visionary, and somewhat temperamental, he remained in charge of the school till 1727.⁷⁴ The school was conducted until the American Revolution, when it broke up for want of teachers.

In November, 1717, the Reverend William Wye arrived as missionary. He was soon established at St. Philip's. The prospect was very grave, especially as pirates were preying on the merchants' ships. Mr. Wye was not a worthy successor of Mr. Johnson; and his stay at Charles Town was brief. It was discovered that he had secured his appointment by means of forged credentials. The blow which the Church received, however, was merely temporary; for, in 1719, there arrived the new rector, who was destined to prove himself one of the most stalwart figures in the history of the colonial Church.

⁷⁴*Pennington: Rev. Thos. Morritt and the Free School in Charles Town (S. C. Historical & Genealogical Mag., XXXII., 34-45).*

(To be continued)

THE REVEREND ROBERT RATCLIFFE

By E. Clowes Chorley

BY the courtesy of the diocese of Massachusetts we are able to reproduce a facsimile of a marriage certificate of 1688 signed by the Reverend Robert Ratcliffe, the first Church of England minister in Boston, Massachusetts.

Boston in New Engl^d

*These may Certifie all w^h in it
may concern y^e Joseph Swatt of
Marble-head, & Hannah Knott of y^e
same place were joined together
in marriage according to y^e Canons
& Constitutions of y^e Church of
England — by me*

May y^e 20th 68

Rob^t. Ratcliffe

On the eve of the Sunday after the Ascension, Saturday, May 15, 1686, the frigate "Rose" entered the harbor of Boston. Among others, she had on board the Reverend Robert Ratcliffe, M. A., a graduate of Exeter College, Oxford, who had been appointed by the Bishop of London to minister in Boston.

His advent marked the end of the Puritan regime in Massachusetts. The Charter of the colony had been cancelled by James II,

and Massachusetts had become a royal province. The establishment of the Church of England followed. The Privy Council had ordered Bibles, Prayer Books, together with copies of the Homilies, Articles and Tables of Affinity "to be sent to New England," and with them a Church of England minister in the person of Ratcliffe. Boston then had about one thousand buildings, "streets many and large and paved with pebbles"; a town-house built of wood and "three fair and large meeting-houses or churches, commodiously built, in several parts of the town."

When Ratcliffe arrived Dunton, a London bookseller, was in Boston, and thus graphically describes Ratcliffe's first service: "The next Sunday after he landed, he preached in the Town-house, and read Common Prayer in his Surplice, which was so great a novelty to the Bostonians, that he had a very large Audience." Dunton, who was present at the service, says "the Parson" was "a very excellent preacher, whose Matter was good, and the Dress in which he put it Extraordinary; he being as well an Orator as a Preacher."*

The date of this service was Sunday, May 16, 1686. The following Tuesday Chief Justice Sewall records "a great wedding, from Milton, and are married by Mr. Randolph's Chaplain at Mr. Shrimpton's, according to y^e Service-Book, a little after Noon, when Prayer was had at y^e Town-house; was another married at y^e same time; the former was Vosse's son. Borrowed a ring."

The royal government was formally inaugurated on Tuesday in Whitsun week. The day following Sewall records the fact that "Mr. Ratcliffe, the minister, waits on the Council. Mr. Mason and Randolph propose that he may have one of the three houses to preach in. This is denied; and he is granted the east-end of the town-house, where the deputies used to meet, untill those who desire his ministry shall provide a fitter place." In his Diary Sewall writes,

"Sabbath, May 30th, 1686. My son reads to me in course y^e 26th of Isaiah—In that day shall this song, etc. And we sing y^e 141 Psalm both exceedingly suited to y^e day wherein there is to be Worship according to y^e Ch^h of Engnd as it is called in y^e Town House by Countenance of Authority. Tis defer'd till y^e 6th of June at what time y^e Pulpit is provided. The Pulpit is moveable, carried up and down stairs as occasion served. It seems many crowded thither, and y^e Ministers preached forenoon and afternoon. Charles Lidget there."

The Ministers referred to by Sewall were Ratcliffe and Chaplain Buckley of the frigate "*Rose*."

*Dunton. *Letters from New England*.

"The members of the Church of England as by law established" assembled for organization in Boston on June 15, 1686. The record, which is still in existence, gives the names of the founders: "M^r. Ratcliffe, our minister; Edward Randolph, Esq^r., one of his Majesty's Councell; Captaine Lydgett, M^r. Luscomb, M^r. White, M^r. Maccartie, M^r. Ravenscroft, Doctor Clarke, M^r. Turfery, M^r. Bankes, Doctor Bullivant." The first act of this body was to provide for a "publique collection by the Churchwardens for the time being for the service of the Church." "Smith and Joyner" was ordered to make "twelve formes for the service of the Church, for each of which he shall be paid 4s. 8d." The salary of Ratcliffe was fixed at £50 per annum, "besides what y^e Counsell shall think fitt to Settle on him."

Due provision was made for the regular services of the Church. On Thursday, August 5th, William Harris, boddice-maker, was the first to be "buried with the Common Prayer Book in Boston," and three days later "Y^e Sacram^t of y^e Lord's Supper is administered at y^e Town Hall." "Prayers of the Church" were appointed to be said every Wednesday and Friday morning at seven in summer and nine in winter, and Randolph records "some Sundays seven or eight persons are in one day baptis'd."

The Bostonian Puritans did not take kindly to the advent of the Church. Randolph speaks of the "great affronts" leveled against the Church,—“some calling our minister Baal's priest, and some of their ministers from the pulpit calling our prayers leeks, garlick, and trash.” Randolph himself, as the prime mover in bringing the Church to Boston, was a target for the Puritan attack. Of him, Cotton Mather wrote:

*"Of Randolph I said, a good while ago, that I should have a further occasion to mention him. And that I may never mention him any more, I will take here my Eternal Farewell of him, with Relating That he proved a Blasted Wretch, followed with a sensible Curse of God, wherever he came,—Despised, Abhorred, Unpropperous. Anon he died in Virginia, and in such miserable Circumstances that (as it is said) he had only Two or Three Negro's to carry him unto his grave."**

When Sir Edmund Andros became governor of the Province he devised a plan whereby the Church might use one of the Meeting Houses at such a time as it was not needed for Puritan services. At a meeting of the ministers answer was returned to the governor that "Twas agreed y^t could not with a good conscience consent y^t our

**The Rev. Henry Foote, author of "Annals of King's Chapel," is the authority for the assertion that the statement of Cotton Mather is "not supported by evidence."*

Meeting-House, should be made use of for y^e Common-Prayer Book worship." For the moment the governor did not press the issue and contented himself with attending Ratcliffe's services in the Town Hall. Sewall notes in his diary: "Monday, January 31. There is a meeting at y^e Town-house forenoon and afternoon. Bell rang for it; respecting y^e beheading Charles y^e first. Gov^r there." On Tuesday, March 22, 1687, Andros viewed the three Meeting Houses and the next day sent Randolph for the keys. Three days later Sewall says,

"Friday, March 25, 1687. The Gov^r has service in the South Meeting-House. Goodm Needham, (the Sexton) tho' had resolved to the contrary was prevail'd upon to Ring y^e Bell and open y^e door at y^e Governour's command, one Smith and Hill, Joiner and Shoemaker, being very buisy about it. Mr. Jno. Usher was there, whether at y^e very Begining, or no, I can't tell."

The day was Good Friday. On Easter Day the governor and "his retinue" again occupied the South Meeting-House. By reason of what Sewall describes as "y^e Sacrament and Mr. Clark's long sermon," the service lasted till after two o'clock. Meanwhile, the Puritans whose service had been appointed for half past one, waited "so 'twas a sad sight to see how full the street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, bec. had not entrance into y^e house." Grieved by such invasion the Puritans appointed a special day of fasting and prayer. The situation became intolerable and Sewall notes "a Hott dispute with Gov^r about Meeting-House South."

Meanwhile the members of the Church of England set about plans for building their own Church. A site was found in a corner of the old burying-ground. On October 16, 1688, "the ground-sills of y^e Chh are Laid, y^e stone foundation being finished," and the next day "a great part of y^e Church is raised. The cost of this King's Chapel was £256-9s—the gift of nearly one hundred persons.

Scarce was this done when William of Orange landed in England. When the news arrived in Boston the Puritans at once took the upper hand. The government of Andros was overthrown and many of his adherents imprisoned. The Church of England shared the fate of the government. Ratcliffe escaped imprisonment, but "was hindered and obstructed in the discharge of his duty." The windows of the Chapel were "broken and the doors and walls daubed and defiled with dung and other filth," and Ratcliffe was "forced to leave the country and his congregation, and go for England." His last official act seems to have been ministering at the opening of King's Chapel on June 30th, 1689.

THE NEW YORK MINISTRY ACT OF 1693

By R. Townsend Henshaw

THE Ministry Act of 1693 divided the southern part of the Province of New York into six parishes, New York City, Richmond, Westchester, Rye, Jamaica, and Hempstead. It directed that in each of these parishes ten vestrymen and two wardens should be chosen on the second Tuesday in January, and "that in each of the respective Cities and Counties hereafter mentioned and expressed, there shall be called, inducted, and established, a good sufficient Protestant Minister, to officiate, and have the care of souls."

This Act marks the beginning of the Church of England as the established church of the Province of New York, and also the beginning of a bitter controversy between the members of that church, and members of other religious bodies.

When the Dutch surrendered the New Netherlands to the English in 1664, Richard Nicolls, the first English Governor, published an instrument in which he declared "that in all territories of his Royal Highness, liberty of conscience is allowed, provided such liberty is not converted into licentiousness, or the disturbance of others in the exercise of the Protestant Religion." The Charter of Privileges granted by the Duke of York to the inhabitants of New York, confirmed "the respective Christian Churches, now in practice within the City of New York, Long Island, and other places of this province, that they shall be held and reputed as privileged churches, and enjoy their former liberty of their religions in divine worship and church discipline."

At a General Meeting convened at Hempstead at the invitation of Governor Nicolls on the 28th of February, 1665, "The Duke's Laws" were promulgated for the future government of the Province, in which the following provisions were made for public worship: "Whereas the public worship of God is much discredited, for the want of painful and able ministers to instruct the people in the true religion, and for want of convenient places capable to receive any assembly of people in a decent manner, for celebrating God's holy ordinances, ordered, that a church shall be built in the most convenient part of each parish, capable to receive and accommodate two hundred

persons, to prevent scandalous and ignorant pretenders to the ministry, from intruding themselves as teachers, no minister shall be admitted to officiate within the Government, but such as shall produce testimonials to the Governor that he received ordination, either from some Protestant Bishop or Ministers within some parts of his Majesty's dominions, or the dominions of any foreign prince of the reformed religion; upon which testimonials the Governor shall induct the said minister into the parish that shall make presentation of him." The Duke's Laws continued to govern the province until the first Provincial Assembly convened by Governor Dongan, in 1683.

Under these laws there were in the Colony fifteen congregations of Dutch Reformed, four of French Huguenots, two Lutheran, and thirteen of Puritans, or Congregationalists, in the territory taken from the Colony of Connecticut. The only Church of England services were those held in the Fort by the Chaplain of the British troops stationed there.

In 1692 two men arrived in the colony who had very definite ideas about the need for establishing the Church of England there. One was the new English Governor, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, and the other was Colonel Caleb Heathcote. Of the latter his biographer, Dixon Ryan Fox, says: "If this man of shady purposes had one determination more sharply marked than others it was that the Church of England should follow the English flag, a safe, well-ordered polity, the decenter if not the only road to heaven. As an Anglican, even more than as an official or a manor lord, he represents the stiff persistence of old English ideals, even when transplanted to a wilderness. His quality of religious zeal was quite as much American as English, and he fished for men among his neighbors, not to add more glory to the establishment across the sea, but to make those American neighbors better men and women. Perhaps there is some significance in the fact that, like his colleagues in this missionary labor, Colonel Lewis Morris, he was an Anglican of Cromwellian stock."

A letter written by Colonel Heathcote to the Venerable Society in 1704 sets forth his views on religious matters at the time of his arrival in 1692:—"When I first arrived in the Province I found it the most rude and heathenish country I ever saw in my whole life, which called themselves Christians; there being not so much as the least marks or footsteps of religion of any sort; Sundays being the only time set apart by them for all manner of vain sports and lewd diversions, and they were given to such a degree of rudeness that it was intolerable, and having then the command of the militia, I sent an order to all the Captains requiring them to call their men under arms, and to acquaint them that in case they would not in every town

agree among themselves to appoint readers, and pass the Sabbath in the best manner they could, till such times as they could be better provided, that they should, every Sunday, call their companies under arms, and spend the day in exercise, whereupon it was unanimously agreed on through the country to make choice of readers, which they accordingly did, and continued in those methods some time."

Colonel Heathcote was one of the most powerful men in the province, wealthy, owner of a hundred thousand acres, Lord of the Manor of Scarsdale, and finally Mayor of New York. In Gov. Fletcher he found a kindred mind. But they were completely lacking in popular support. The Church of England meant little to the Dutch and French, and the Puritans from New England had no use for either Lords or Bishops. Gov. Fletcher soon found the nature of the opposition. He proposed, soon after his arrival, the settling of an able ministry as one of the best and surest means of suppressing vice and profanity. The majority of the Assembly were entirely disinclined to the scheme, which occasioned a warm rebuke from the Governor at his speech at the close of the session, when he said:—"Gentlemen, the first thing that I did recommend to you, at our last meeting, was to provide for a ministry, and nothing is done in it. There are none of you, but that are big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta, which is your right; and the same law doth provide for the Religion of the Church of England, against Sabbath breaking and other profanity. But as you have made it least, and postponed it in this Session, I hope you will begin it the next meeting and do somewhat toward it effectually."

"The determination of the Governor," says Bolton, "at length induced the House to yield; and a bill was brought in for settling the ministry, and raising a maintenance for them." Colonel Lewis Morris, in a letter to the Venerable Society, dated, New York, Feb. 20th, 1711, says:— James Graham, Esq., who was then speaker of the Assembly, and had the drawing of their bills, prescribed a method of induction and so managed it that it would not do well for the Dissenters, and but lamely for the Church, though it would do with the help of the Governor and that was all; but it was the most that could be got at that time, for had more been attempted, the Assembly had seen through the artifice, the most of them being Dissenters, and all had been lost."

The good Colonel puts the dilemma plainly. Direct methods having failed, the Governor, who undoubtedly knew the form in which Mr. Graham drew the bill, resorts to "artifice." The words used are "a good sufficient Protestant Minister." To the members of the Assembly who passed the Act of 1693 this undoubtedly meant a con-

tinuance of the policy followed in the Duke's Laws, otherwise they would have rejected the Act.

The Act having been passed, the fight waged fiercely over its interpretation. The Governor, as judge of the validity of the ordination of the clergy, soon made it clear that only those in Anglican orders would meet with his approval. His opponents argued that the wording of the Act permitted the choice of Dissenting Clergy. The quarrel thus begun has been continued by the historians of the period. Bolton, always a staunch Anglican, defends the Governor:— "For this commendable zeal Col. Fletcher has been reviled, by Smith and others, as a bigot to the Episcopal form of Church Government." On the other side, Dr. Baird, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Rye, writes in 1871:— "The Act of 1693 was well meant. But as wrested from its proper design, and made to answer the purpose of the English Church party, which was a very small minority of the people, the Act could not fail to work mischief. It tended to aggravate the rankling surge of injustice and oppression which had been produced under other wrongs. And it operated to the serious disadvantage of the Church in whose favor it was sought to be construed. This could not but be obvious even at the time to intelligent and candid men." "I believe at this day," wrote Colonel Morris in 1711, "The Church had been in a much better condition had there been no Act in her favour. And like every other attempt to interfere with the liberty of conscience and of worship, this course proved only detrimental to the interests of true religion."

Governor Fletcher has been accused of two things, of duplicity in securing the passage of the Act of 1693, due to the use of the words "a good sufficient Protestant Minister," instead of stating plainly,— a clergyman of the established Church of England. The second accusation is that he forced the establishment of the English Church upon an unwilling and resentful people. As to the first charge the documents show that from the moment of his arrival the Governor was most outspoken in his demand for an established church and ministry. When he failed to secure legislative action, the Speaker of the Assembly drew up the Act that was finally passed, as a compromise measure. The original act contained a provision that the Governor should be judge of the fitness of the minister to be inducted, but this was stricken out before the bill was passed. The facts seem to indicate, not that the Governor forced through this bill by deceptive wording, but that the Assembly forced this bill on the Governor. Since he demanded an established Church, this was the best they would give him. He made it known plainly and immediately, that in spite of the clause that had been stricken out he still had the

power to decide what clergy could be called, and when New York, Westchester and Rye attempted to call Congregationalists, he let it be known that he would recognize only duly ordained clergy of the Church of England.

As to the second charge, that of forcing the Church of England upon an unwilling people, there is truth in it. But the point of view of an English official of that day must be clearly recognized. The Church of England was not to him merely one of the Protestant sects. It was the established church of England and therefore of England's colonies. New York was a royal province, and the King was the Church's head.

The Act of 1693 was not intended to suppress other church organization. It stated specifically: "And always provided, that all former agreements made with Ministers throughout this Province shall continue and remain in their full force and virtue." But the purpose of the Governor was to make the Church of England the established church in each of the designated parishes, supported by a tax on all real estate. Membership in some other church was permitted, but the members of such churches were not thereby exempted from paying this tax. Furthermore certain land that had been acquired for church purposes in various communities was held to be the property of the Church of England.

The first result of the Act of 1693 was a partial nullification. Vestrymen were elected to escape the penalties imposed, but they did nothing.

On Jan. 9th, 1694, the first city vestry was chosen in New York under the Ministry Act of 1693. In accordance with State-Church ideas, the Wardens and Vestrymen elected under the Ministry Act were, at first, a Civil Body. The law said they were to be chosen by the freeholders. Of the twelve men elected to this Vestry, only three were Episcopalians. And it was the same in other parishes. The first Vestry of the parish at Rye, elected in 1695, contained no members of the Church of England. The second City Vestry, chosen Jan. 8, 1695, contained but one Episcopalian, Jeremiah Tothill. Governor Fletcher now threatened to prosecute them, if they any longer refused to carry out his wishes, whereupon on Jan. 26, 1695, the vestry resolved that "Pursuant to an Act of General Assembly, entitled an Act for the settling of a ministry and raising a maintenance for them, etc., the Church Wardens and Vestrymen above named have this day mett and *nemine Contra Dicente* called Mr. Wm. Vesey to officiate in the same place according to the directions in the said Act contained." Perhaps Tothill offered the above resolution, and

his may have been the only vote. The Governor did not dare to proceed upon it.

On April 12th, 1695, the Assembly ruled that "a Dissenting Minister may be called."

"The petition of the Church-Wardens and Vestry for the City of New York was read. Upon the consideration of the petition above mentioned, it is the opinion of this House that the Vestrymen and Church-Wardens have power to call a Dissenting Protestant Minister; and that he is to be paid and maintained according as the Act directs." Whereupon Gov. Fletcher informed the Assembly, that "it is out of your province to take upon you to explain an Act which you did not make."

The Charter of Trinity Church, May 6, 1697, begins with a "Reference to Ministry Act of 1693 with assertion that it established the Church of England."

If after an interval of more than two hundred years the Governor appears as the mighty champion of Episcopalianism, it must not be forgotten that to his opponents he was all that was evil. Among the Colonial Documents is a letter written by Peter De La Noy on June 13th, 1695, relative to Governor Fletcher's conduct. Beginning with accusations of ostentation, flaunting a coach and six before the tax-burdened citizens, he proceeds to accuse Fletcher of bribe-taking, even of the encouragement of piracy. His religion was but the veil of hypocrisy. "After this all you will perhaps wonder when I tell you that this man's bell rings twice a day for prayers and that he appears with a great affectation of piety, but this is true, and it is as true that it makes him only more ridiculous, not more respected." The writer then demands "the removal of this man, and we are not solicitous whether he is gently recalled or falls into disgrace, so we are rid of him." Evidently the Governor was not popular.

On November 2nd, 1696, the Vestry of Trinity Church called Mr. William Vesey, as minister, and provided him with the sum of ninety-five pounds, that he might go to England and be ordained "according to ye Liturgy of ye Church of England."

It would seem that Governor Fletcher, while insisting that the Ministry Act of 1693 required the Vestries to call ordained clergymen of the Church of England, had failed to realize that there was no available supply of these men in America. In fact it was not until the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, aided by Queen Anne's bounty, offered to send missionaries, and to pay a portion of their salaries, that the ministry of the Church of England became a fact in the Province of New York. And it was due to the fine character and self-sacrificing ministry of the majority of those missionaries that the bitterness aroused by the Ministry Act finally disappeared.

THE JOURNAL OF THE REVEREND DOCTOR DE KOVEN

With Notes by the Editor

THERE has come into the possession of the Editor a copy of the Journal of the Reverend Doctor De Koven. It relates to his life and work in Nashotah and in Racine College, of which he was president, and is dated, July 31st, 1862, Middletown, Connecticut. The parts of the Journal here set forth relate to the larger life of the Church in which Dr. De Koven took so prominent a part. They shed interesting light upon the great debate on Ritualism in the General Convention and to the controversy which raged around his election as Bishop of Illinois, which failed of confirmation by a majority of the Standing Committees.

JOURNAL.

"In the Spring of 1873 an effort was made to elect me Bishop of Massachusetts. Some 40 clergy voted for me and almost as many of the laity. Dr. Paddock had, however, I think, some dozen more votes and was elected."

"All summer in the *Church Journal*, owing to some unadvised remarks of Dr. Evan and the real want of principle of the Editor,* there were attacks upon me as an extreme man, etc., of which I took no notice. This was followed in the fall by the secession of Bishop Cummins and a persistent accusation by him and his followers against myself and Racine as a reason by the Confession that prevailed here, etc., of his secession. I made a denial of the charges and was thinking of publishing the letters when Bishop Armitage† to whom I had written wrote advising me not to do so. It was the last letter the dear bishop ever wrote me, . . . and a few days after he had written it, he was at rest with God. . . . I was appointed to preach a memorial sermon at a special Council in February to elect a new bishop. Very bitter attacks had been made upon me, the chief one being contained in a pamphlet entitled 'Principles not Men'—signed and circulated by Dr. Kemper, Dr. Adams and Dr. Egar and others. This led to a defence of myself before the Council and a publication of the same in a pamphlet entitled 'A Theological Defence,' etc. The special Council

*Rev. Dr. Hugh Miller Thompson.

†Bishop of Wisconsin.

adjourned without an election, though I was elected by the clergy, and very bitter attacks were made upon me, especially by the *Church Journal*, the efforts of which had been continuous to injure me. At the next Council I would not allow my name to be used, and after Dr. Brown* had been elected by the clergy, there was a conference which resulted in the nomination of the Rev. Dr. Welles of Redwing. I myself was the person who publicly nominated him and he was unanimously elected."

"It seems to have been a good choice and the whole matter so far has been over ruled for good. It has also been blessed in another way, in bringing many to a far clearer and fuller appreciation of Eucharistic doctrine. . . . I have been spending the vacation here writing an article on the Eucharistic Controversy, and otherwise preparing for the General Convention. The sudden death of Bishop Whitehouse,† who was at Commencement, has been a great blow to us all. He died Monday morning, August 10, and was buried on the 13th. I attended his funeral, which was a very imposing one, but there was no celebration."

The next entry refers to the controversy which arose over the election of the Rev. Dr. Seymour, who had been elected Bishop of Illinois in succession to Bishop Whitehouse. It was a time of great excitement in the American Church. The battle was raging around ritualism and Eucharistic adoration. It being within the canonical period, the question of the confirmation of the Seymour election came before the House of Deputies of the General Convention. The debate, which lasted eight days, was conducted behind closed doors and the request of Dr. Seymour to be heard in his own defence was refused. Confirmation was defeated on a vote by Orders. The Journal says:

"Meanwhile my friend Dr. Seymour had been elected Bishop of Illinois. There was every prospect of trouble on the subject of Ritualism and some doubt as to Dr. Seymour's confirmation. The history of the Convention would be an interesting one. For months before the Church had been excited by the *Church Journal* and by those of the school of Bishop Coxe‡ and so the Convention felt it must do something. I had said of myself that it would be easier to condemn the Eucharistic advent than Eucharistic adoration, and the mere charge that Dr. Seymour was suspected of such views, added to the recollections of some controversies in which he had been engaged in the Seminary§ which gave just enough reason for the poor souls who were anxious to reject

*Dr. J. Hobart Brown, later Bishop of Fond du Lac.

†Bishop of Illinois.

‡Bishop of Western New York.

§Dr. Seymour was a professor in the General Theological Seminary.

him on other grounds but did not altogether like to do so, were sufficient, and although he had a numerical majority in the House he was defeated in a vote by dioceses and orders. I was staying with him and did my best to cheer and help him, but owing, I think, to false timidity and want of zeal and boldness in conducting the case, I was not allowed to say anything in his behalf, though most anxious to do so. The secret session lasted for eight days and there was a mighty debate."

"In the debate on Ritualism which followed, I was enabled to defend the views on the Eucharist, I believe it to be true, in such a manner as to remove some of the prejudice against them.* I shall never forget the time and occasion and the responsibility there was placed upon me."

At the primary convention of the diocese of Fond du Lac Dr. De Koven was elected bishop in the clerical order. He writes in the Journal:

"The first Convention of the diocese of Fond du Lac was held that week. The night of the day when after my election by the clergy, the laity had not voted for me, and Dr. Coleman, later Bishop of Delaware, was elected, was a very cold one, and by some mischance the clock in Taylor Hall was seized with an inordinate desire to strike and kept it up all night, striking at one time 120 times or thereabouts. As there are three bells there were greater facilities than an ordinary clock possesses and it made the best use of them. The chimney too caught on fire and as the thermometer was down in the zero region (the next morning or the morning after it was 29 below) we had a disturbed night. I suppose the clock had heard of my rejection and was glad of it."

Behind a later entry in the Journal there is large significance:

"That same day, February 4th, in the evening, I was elected Bishop of Illinois."

The election caused great excitement throughout the Church. The *Church Journal* in a strong editorial stated that "Illinois appears to be in the condition of a fractious child, who ought to be saved from its own passion."† The action of the convention was generally regarded as a defiance of the whole Church, acting through the General Convention, in rejecting Dr. Seymour a few months before. In the final issue Dr. De Koven's election was not confirmed by the neces-

*Bishop McLaren of Chicago said that the main influence which brought him into the Church from Presbyterianism was De Koven's great speech on Eucharistic adoration at the General Convention of 1871.

†*Church Journal*, Feby. 25, 1875.

sary majority of the Standing Committees and he formally cancelled his acceptance of the office.

Of this episode the Journal says:

"Meanwhile my papers before the standing committees as Bishop-elect of Illinois was filling the papers, Church and secular, with editorials and comments. Letters of congratulation and sympathy were pouring in from all quarters. There was the aggravation about it all that it had to go on for several weeks, the result becoming daily more manifest and hiding in my direction."

"Several things attributed to it.

1. A supposed doubt as to the legality of the election.*
2. A feeling that it was proper to reject me, because there were arguments (correct ones, I think) used to show that the office of Standing Committees was one simply of hearing testimony, and it was proper for them to show by way of reply to such arguments that they had an abstract right to reject on any grounds.

3. Certain resolutions of the diocese of Illinois which were supposed (quite unjustly) to censure the General Convention.

4. As Dr. Jaggar's name was also before the Committees, a feeling on the part of some high and dry dioceses that to reject both J. and myself, was somehow to retain the *via media*.†

5. A sort of feeling that orthodoxy in doctrine consists in a dull avoidance if any opinions or expression of them (in contemsted subjects?)

6. A general fear of ritualism.

7. An idea that my consecration might increase the Cummings schism.

8. And chiefly misrepresentation of my doctrinal views due to the very wrong statements of Dr. Thompson in the *Church Journal*, and of others.

9. Rejection of the truth itself.

"Many serious questions have been unsolved, first the whole position and duty of standing committees about which there is much ignorance, the popular notion being that any member of a Standing Committee, clerical or lay, could vote according to his own judgment as though it were an election.

2nd, the question as to what constitutes 'error in doctrine, the popular idea which seems very absurd to write, being that not to agree with a Pastoral of the House of Bishops, especially that of 1871 involved 'error in religion.'

*A minority of the members of the Convention challenged the legality of the election.

†Dr. Jaggar, a pronounced low churchman who had been elected Bishop of Southern Ohio, was opposed for confirmation by some high church dioceses because he had publicly expressed sympathy with the Rev. Dr. Cheney, who had been deposed in the diocese of Illinois for refusing to use the word "regeneration" in the public service of Baptism.

3rd, Utter ignorance on some plain matters of doctrine, as 1st, how far confession in private is permitted and enjoined in our Church, and 2nd, the question of the Real Presence and how far adoration can be given rightly to our Lord thus Present.

Out of it all will come by and by a fuller knowledge of the truth and for myself personally I am thankful I trust in God's will.

The letters and pamphlets and articles have been very numerous and have of course added to the cares of this term of trial, and in addition we had three cases of scarlet fever running over about the same period. They were very light and it did not spread, but we could not but feel anxious. There were some funny things happened at which we might as well laugh as feel annoyed. I had several anonymous letters, one of which was as follows:

'DE KOVEN'S DESIRE.

VOLO EPISCOPARI

I want to be a Bishop,
And with the Bishops stand,
A mitre on my forehead
And a Crosier in my hand.

P. S.—No such ritualist as you can ever be a Bishop.'

"It was mortifying to be classed with Dr. Jaggar, who though a very worthy man, I have no doubt, and who certainly in my judgment ought to be confirmed, yet it seemed to me as if the loyalty I had always shown rendered me undeserving of being ranked with one whose sole public act had been to express sympathy with Mr. Cheney. If, however, this was mystifying, it was doubly so to have Dr. Jaggar confirmed and myself rejected. The newspapers had this paragraph which went the rounds. De Koven, 'Is this a Jaggar which I see before me?' . . . The victory will come by and by if God wills it—or what is quite as likely, the blessing will come from the sorrow and the defeat, for such is the lesson of the Cross of our Lord."

"I feel wearied with the cares and troubles of the year, which has been the most full of care of any in my life, and yet with so much to be thankful for. Good night. I write with the moon diving over the lake, and a soft murmur of the waves."

"July 29. There was at least one victory, though not here. I went to New York to attend the meeting of the Trustees of the General Theological Seminary and give my vote for Dr. Lyman as permanent Dean. Several others went from the West, besides myself, and out of 93 Trustees who were present and voted, 77 voted for him. As it was

the first meeting after the General Convention and Bishop Coxe's accusation, it was a very remarkable vindication."

Sept. 5th. "(I) now am writing a letter to the Illinois Convention, withdrawing my acceptance of the election as this seems the only way to preserve the rights of the diocese."

"On or about the 8th of December—I think that was the date—Bishop McLaren was consecrated Bishop of Illinois in the Cathedral.* It was my duty to read the consent of the Bishops. He is a good churchman and a good man, and will make, I am sure, an earnest bishop."

"Dr. Seymour, after his election as Bishop of Springfield, while waiting for the confirmation of his election by the Bishops, wrote a letter to Bishop Vail, which he (Dr. S.) allowed to be presented and sent round to the other Bishops in which he said things, which of course are true, but which showed that he did not hold in any real way the doctrine of the Real Presence. There is no escape from this now except to suppose that he was trifling with his own conscience—a thing I trust impossible. He has accepted the confirmation and will be consecrated St. Barnabas' Day, June 11th, with great ceremony in Trinity Church. He is to be received into his diocese on Thursday next, July 11th. This was a trial, not his election, but the previously mentioned course of action. He is too good a man, however, not to come out all right, under the very difficult labors of his diocese."

"Jan. 2nd." The entry under this date refers to the heroic death of the Rev. L. S. Schuyler, who volunteered to aid during the outbreak of the yellow fever at Memphis, when three of the Sisters of St. Mary sacrificed their lives. Dr. De Koven writes of him in the Journal:

"He was only there a few days and was himself taken ill and died of the fever. I was deeply interested in him, for just as my name was being tossed about from Standing Committee to Standing Committee charged with Romanism, he was sent to me to be kept, if possible, from going to the Church of Rome."

On the 19th day of March, 1879, James De Koven fell on sleep. They laid him in the upper chamber with its windows opened to the sunrising.

**Bishop McLaren was elected for Illinois after the rejection of Dr. De Koven by the Standing Committees.*

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCHES

By B. Talbot Rogers

A COMPLETE STORY of the Old Catholic Churches would carry one into many lands, and involve the records of church and state for centuries.

The Church made repeated efforts to purify herself, and to retain or recover autonomy, with a primitive catholicity.

It is essentially the same story with which we are familiar in English Church history.

In France it was called Gallicanism, and the Jansenists were involved in the same controversy.

In Germany it came to be known as Febronianism, because Bishop von Hontheim of Treves wrote under the nom de plume of Febronius. His defense of Episcopacy was approved by many in other countries of Europe, notwithstanding its Papal condemnation. But the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars intervened to change the face and spirit of Europe.

In Holland the Diocese of Utrecht maintained its independence and unbroken history through many political changes, including the Reformation and the revolt against Spain by which Holland was lost to the Roman Catholic Church for two centuries.

The Diocese of Utrecht was organized late in the seventh century by Willibrord of Northumbria, who was consecrated its first Bishop in 696. It lies between the Rhine and the Zuider Zee, and was subordinate to the See of Cologne. The Bishop of Utrecht was a temporal ruler for more than eight hundred years. In the tenth century Bishop Balderic successfully defended his province against the Northmen. He then received, from the Emperor Otto I, an addition to his territory and the right to coin money. But in 1527 Bishop Henry of Bavaria sold his temporal rights to the Emperor Charles V. The See of Utrecht was made an Archbishopric in 1559. In the revolt against Spain the Archbishop signed the Union of Utrecht. And the Diocese and Chapter maintained the Episcopal succession, notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestant Government of Holland; and continued to elect its own Bishop in opposition to the growing claims of the Papacy to appoint the same.

Archbishop Codde died in 1710; and Rome deferred the consecration of a successor. But in France the Jesuits had won their century long conflict with the Jansenists. In his old age Louis XIV expelled the Jansenists from his kingdom to satisfy both Jesuits and Pope. Then Spain drove them from Belgium. They were welcomed to Utrecht; and Bishop Varlet renewed the succession, which has continued unbroken to the present.

In 1742 the Diocese of Haarlem was organized, and in 1757 that of Deventer, and both became part of the Province of Utrecht.

In 1870 the Vatican Council approved the Decree of Papal Infallibility, though one hundred and fifty Bishops had opposed the doctrine, and finally withdrew from the Council. On their return home the opposing Bishops yielded to political influence and the plea for the Church's welfare.

But this was not the case with many of the clergy and scholars in Germany, where the Universities were free from ecclesiastical control. Munich, Bonn, and Cologne became centers of great unrest. After the meeting of two Congresses, that were attended by more than five hundred scholars and clergy, including representatives from the Eastern Orthodox Churches, the Church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, the German Old Catholic Church was organized, and Dr. Joseph Hubert Reinkens was consecrated by the Bishops of Holland.

The movement spread into Switzerland. Dr. Herzog was consecrated Bishop of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland.

In 1880 Bishop Herzog attended the General Convention that met in St. George's Church, New York City. He was received with enthusiasm, and took part in its services. He celebrated the Holy Communion in St. Paul's Chapel for a large German congregation. He always considered that he was in communion with the American Episcopal Church; and on more than one occasion he ordained priests for work amongst foreign-born members of the Episcopal Church.

There are many national branches of the Old Catholic Church. The first is Utrecht with its companion dioceses of Haarlem and Deventer. It calls itself The Old Roman Catholic Church of Holland. There is now a modern Roman Catholic Church in Holland that has been organized more recently.

The second national branch of the Old Catholic Churches is that of Germany. They use the title Old Catholic Church. The Bishop of Bonn is the Presiding officer; and the Cathedral and University of Bonn are his headquarters.

Since the World War the Austrian branch has been allowed to complete its autonomous organization.

The third national branch to be organized was that of Switzerland. Its title is: The Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland. Its Bishop lives at Bern, and the beautiful old Cathedral is his headquarters.

The fourth branch is the National Catholic Church of America and Poland. The movement to organize the Polish people in America began nearly simultaneously in Chicago and Scranton, Pennsylvania, about 1898. In 1901 Bishop Kozlowski of Chicago presented a proposal to the House of Bishops, sitting in San Francisco, that he and his people should be recognized as in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church, under the terms of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, and any other conditions that the House of Bishops or General Convention might require. The proposal was referred to a committee of the House of Bishops. The committee met with Bishop Kozlowski and some of his clergy in Boston during the General Convention of 1904. Before final action could be taken Bishop Kozlowski died. Since that time Bishop Hodur of Scranton has been the recognized head of the Polish National Catholic Church in America.

The American branch now has five Bishops, one hundred priests, and 200,000 members. In Poland the movement has had many adversities. The Mariavites, that at one time were credited with 500,000 members, has become a distraught sect. Politics and divisions have kept the other congregations from completing a national organization.

Czechoslovakia and Austria each have national organizations.

These are all in communion with Utrecht, which is the recognized criterion for validity amongst the Old Catholic Churches.

Two minor movements in America and England have confused many. In 1883 church services were begun, at their request, amongst the French-speaking Belgians of Door County, Wisconsin, by the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart Brown. With the approval of the Presiding Bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Williams of Connecticut, Mr. Rene Villatte was sent to Switzerland to be ordained by Bishop Herzog. On his return he carried on successful missionary work for four years. The three congregations then organized have continued loyal to the church, and one or two more have been added.

After the death of Bishop Brown the Diocese of Fond du Lac was without a Bishop for a year. During that time Father Villatte sought consecration that he might be the Old Catholic Bishop in America. But the Archbishop of Utrecht and Archbishop Tikon, who was then living in San Francisco and to whom Father Villatte applied, refused to consecrate him. He then went to Ceylon, where a separated Orthodox Bishop seems to have consecrated him for

North America. The validity of such a consecration is open to question, and even more may his individual acts in ordaining and consecrating others be questioned. For a time the name Old Catholic was used by this group, but later they incorporated in Illinois under the name American Catholic.

A similar movement started in England in 1908. A group of Irish Roman Catholic priests revolted against Cardinal Vaughn and his disciplinary rulings. Father Matthews withdrew into lay-communion and married. Father O'Halleran had a congregation that continued to support him in his independent attitude. He persuaded Matthews that his congregation had elected Matthews to be their Bishop. With that assurance Father Matthews went to Utrecht, and after two visits, he secured consecration from the Archbishop. Later the Archbishop repudiated the consecration, as having been obtained by misrepresentations. On his return to England Father O'Halleran and his congregation withdrew from him. But he ordained and consecrated a number.

Some of this connection are now in America. They use the name Old Catholic and Liberal Catholic. They are not in communion with Utrecht or any other branch of Catholic Christendom.

On July 2, 1931, there was a meeting of representatives of the Old Catholic Churches and the Churches of the Anglican Communion at Bonn. It was promoted by the Lambeth Conference of 1930.

As a result of that Conference the agreements were as follows:

1. Each Communion recognizes the catholicity and independence of the other, and maintains its own.
2. Each Communion agrees to admit members of the other Communion to participate in the Sacraments.
3. Intercommunion does not require from either Communion the acceptance of all doctrinal opinions, sacramental devotion, or liturgical practice, characteristic of the other, but implies that each believes the other to hold all the essentials of the Christian Faith.

In January, 1932, the Convocation of Canterbury approved the agreements reached by the Conference at Bonn. The following resolution was carried unanimously, on motion of the Bishop of Gloucester, seconded by the Bishop of Oxford, and after addresses of approval by the Bishops of London, Chichester, Norwich, and Lincoln, and the Archbishop of Canterbury: "This House agrees to the establishment of intercommunion between the Church of England and the Old Catholics on these terms."

Later the same resolution was passed by the Convocation of

York; and again by the Synod of Bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

The Bishop of Brechin received the following from the Archbishop of Utrecht (being a translation of his Latin letter):—

“For the letter of 30th. November of this year (1932), in which you have made known that the Synod of Bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland has, with unanimous agreement, approved the resolution of the Provinces of Canterbury and York concerning Intercommunion of the Anglican and Old Catholic Churches, we offer you great thanks. Concerning this act we rejoice with you, praying that more abundantly may be fulfilled the word of the Saviour of the world: ‘there shall be one fold and one shepherd.’”

The Old Catholic Churches have been a subject for frequent and serious consideration by the General Convention ever since 1874. (See Journals.)

Leaders of every school of thought in the Church have endorsed the movement. Its reenforcement of the position of the Anglican Communion has been evident to all. The Church of England has now at last surrendered her insularity. She recognizes that the principles that guided her reformation have an international appeal. The American Church has special reasons to be interested in the Old Catholic Churches; first because of the cosmopolitan character of America, and second because the Polish National Catholic Church has grown to importance in our midst; some of her leaders having been educated in our seminaries. No doubt the next session of the General Convention will give the subject special consideration. The latest statistics available are as follows:—Bishops in Europe and America, 20; Other Clergy, about 800; Communicants, about 300,000. Her organization is quite complete from the International Congress to the Provincial and Diocesan Synods.

The laity are well organized in Parochial and Diocesan chapters for welfare, educational, and missionary purposes. There are many institutions under their care.

CANONS OF THE DIOCESE OF CONNECTICUT. 1790

(*From the Jarvis Papers*)

IN the year 1790 the diocese of Connecticut appointed a committee "to prepare Canons for the internal government of the Church in Connecticut." When the committee reported the following Canons it was ordered "that the Canons reported be revised and completed by the Bishop and College of Doctors."*

CANONS

1

There shall be annually a Meeting of the parishioners of the Church in easter week, if convenient on the Monday or Tuesday of said week—at which yearly Meeting the church wardens and Vestrymen, or Assistants shall be chosen by the Minister or Rector of the church and the Parishioners. If the Parishioners are divided in their choice, and the division be so equal as to require it, the Rector or Minister shall have two votes in order to decide the choice.

2ND

In every church, it shall be considered as the duty of the Wardens to provide, whenever wanted, a Bible and Book of Common Prayer as set forth and authorized by the general convention for the use of the Church; and also a decent surplice, at the expence of the Parishioners.

3RD

As the business of a parish Clerk is to serve as a prompter to the congregation in the performance of their part in divine Service, it properly belongs to the Minister or Rector to choose, or appoint him. When a new Clerk is so chosen the Minister or Rector shall signify the same to the Parishioners the Sunday next following the

*A "College of Doctors" was created in Connecticut about 1790 to act as the Bishop's Council of Advice in emergencies. The first four members were Abraham Jarvis, Richard Mansfield, Bela Hubbard and Ebenezer Dibblee. This body appears to have been superseded by the appointment of a Standing Committee of five clergymen on October fifth, 1791, as then required by the Canons of the General Convention.

Appointment, and the said Clerk shall be known to the Minister or Rector to be 20 years of age at the least, of good moral Character, and known to be sufficient for reading & writing, & if it may be, for singing.

4TH

As churches are built for the solemn worship of God, & devoted to him for the administration of his Word & holy Sacraments, it is the duty of the wardens & their Assistants the Vestrymen, not to allow it to be used for any secular political purpose: for the holding Town Meetings, civil courts, or for any other business than such as concerns the affairs of the church & the interests of Religion.

5

According to primitive example founded on divine direction the church hath at all times required that the clergy wear appropriate Garments, & badges of their office as prescribed & enjoined by ecclesiastical Authority. It is therefore hereby required that every Deacon, previous to his obtaining from the Bishop a licence to officiate, shall provide himself with the accustomed sacerdotal Habits consisting of Gown & Cassock, ; and it shall be the duty of every Clergyman of this church, to be clothed with their Habits, whenever they perform divine Service, or any of the offices of the church, unless sufficient & approved reasons occur to prevent it.

BOOK REVIEWS

JOHN KEBLE. *By Lord Irwin, K. G. A. R.*
Mowbray & Co. Morehouse Publishing Co. \$1.75.

A COMPACT, well written small biography of John Keble, whose famous Assize sermon brought to birth the Oxford Movement. After a sketch of his early years, there is an admirable chapter on the Poet and another on the Parish Priest. In view of the centennial year the re-publication of this volume is very timely.

ADVENTURES FOR GOD. *A History of St. George's Episcopal Church, Hempstead, Long Island. By John Sylvanus Haight. Privately published. New York. 1932.*

HEMPSTEAD was first settled by migration from the town of Hemel-Hempstead, England. The settlers were Puritans who had forsaken their mother church. The first services of the Church of England were begun in 1696 by young William Vesey who, after his ordination became the first settled rector of Trinity Church, in the City of New York. In 1702 the Rev. John Thomas was sent as a missionary by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and in the same year Hempstead was visited by George Keith, the erst-while Quaker. Among the later ministers was Samuel Seabury, whose son, the future bishop, grew up in the old rectory. This book, written by the present rector of the parish, departs from conventional lines. The history is treated as a series of adventures. Nothing of importance is omitted and the volume is unusually well illustrated. It includes a Registry of Marriages from 1725 to 1813, and of Baptisms from 1725 to 1791. An index would have been an invaluable addition. There is one error. It is stated that young Samuel Seabury served as a catechist at Huntington, Long Island, in 1548. This is an obvious misprint for 1748.

THE VESTRY BOOK OF PETSWORTH PARISH,
GLOUCESTER COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1677-1793.
*Transcribed, Annotated and Indexed by C. G.
Chamberlayne. Published by the Library Board.
Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing.
1933. Pp. 429.*

STUDENTS of social and religious conditions in the Colony of Virginia are greatly indebted to the patient and accurate research of Dr. Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne and to the Library Board for making that research available to all who are interested in early American history. This is the fifth Vestry Book for which Dr. Chamberlayne is responsible, three of which were published at his own expense. These Vestry Books are invaluable as source material, for they mirror not only the development of the Church of England in Virginia, but also the work of the Vestries in the administration of the relief of the poor and the exercise of discipline. The history of Petsworth parish can be traced back to 1666 with the possibility of its establishment ten years earlier. The records of the Vestry, in this manuscript, begin January 23rd, 1677, and continue unbrokenly till July 11, 1793. Thomas Vicaris was the first minister at a salary of 12000 pounds of tobacco. He appears to have been on probation and to have been engaged for limited periods, for the record of 1679 orders that he be continued and exercise his ministerial function "until ye next Shipping, on likeing, & hopes of his future amendment, he Declaring his willingness then to leave the place, if not approved of by the p^{ish}, and Vestrye." In 1704 "Y^e Reverend M^r Emanuell Jones" according to English custom, read himself in by declaring his adherence to the Thirty-nine Articles and the following declaration: "In these words I Emanuell Jones rector of Pettso Do declare y^t it is not Lawfull upon any pretence whatsoever to take armes against y^e Queen & that I Do abhor y^e trayterous Position of taking armes by her authority against her person or against those y^t are Commisionated by her & y^t I will Conforme to y^e Liturgy of y^e Church of England as it is now established to w^{ch} do we Subscribe our names." . . . The Vestrymen were required to take the oath of allegiance to the reigning monarch, together with the following:

"I., A. B., Do Swear that I doe from my heart abhor, Detest and abjure as Impious and hereticall that Damnable Doctrine and Position that Princes Excommunicated or deprived by y^e Pope or any authority of the See of Roome, may be deposed or Murdered by there Subjects or any other what-

soever, and I doe declare that noe forreign Prince, Person, prelate State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction power Superiority preeminence or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spirituall within this Realme."

They were likewise required to sign the following declaration:

"Wee whose names are under written doe hear () testify and declare that wee doe not believe y^t there is any Transubstantiation of the Elements of bread and wine in y^e Sacrament of y^e lords Supper at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever."

In addition to all this Petsworth formulated its own oath of a Vestryman, reading, "you shall Sware that as a vestryman of petsoe parish you will act & doe in all things relateing to that offis justly & truly to y^e best of yo^r judgm^t." The detailed expenditures of the Vestry are full of interest including as they do not only payments for the ministers and maintenance of the services, but also for the care of the poor. The abiding value of this book is enhanced by the inclusion of a most valuable Map showing the bounds of adjacent parishes. Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, the capable State Librarian, holds out the hope that other Vestry Books may be published. We cordially endorse that hope. Let the State of Virginia continue the good work.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

WHITHER ASIA? A STUDY OF THREE LEADERS.

By Kenneth Saunders, Litt. D., New York. The Macmillan Company. 1933.

THE genesis of this book is the conviction that "it is high time the Western world took more trouble to understand Asia." As an aid to that understanding, Dr. Saunders has written this most penetrating and illuminating volume which is worthy of the careful study of all those who seek an intelligent estimate of the great intellectual and spiritual as well as economic movements which are transforming life in India, Japan and China. The medium through which this

study is made is an analysis of the life and teaching of Gandhi in India; Hu Shih in China, and Kagawa in Japan. Much new light is shed upon these three men and what they are trying to accomplish. They are the children of the characteristic cultures of their own ancient civilization, but each also has a profound sense of the contribution which western life and thought is in a position to make to the East. Gandhi is described by Dr. Saunders as "a blend of the Western ideal of active social and political life with the Indian ideal of detachment and other-worldliness." Hu Shih is a Confucian who is seeking to incorporate "the religion of democracy" with Confucian thought. Kagawa is at once a Christian and a Socialist who has learned equally from Buddha and Confucius. And all three are profoundly impressed by the Sermon on the Mount as interpreted by Tolstoi. There is close kinship between Gandhi and Kagawa, both of whom teach that only by suffering and sacrifice can Asia be set free. On the other hand, Hu Shih regards religion as an "opiate" and believes that the way of salvation for China lies in science and democracy. As the author states, this book is not written for scholars, but for ordinary people. It is admirably done.

OUR HERITAGE. *By the Rt. Rev. Frank W. Creighton, S. T. D., Suffragan Bishop of Long Island, Bishop in Charge of Mexico. The Book Store, Church Missions House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York.*

IN this excellently printed volume Bishop Creighton has sketched in interesting fashion the story of the Domestic missionary work of the Church in its manifold departments. It will prove a helpful guide for study groups as well as for general reading. Bishop Creighton writes out of the large experience gained as secretary of Domestic missions and has here provided a needed supplement to Bishop Burleson's *Conquest of the Continent*.

THE CLERGY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH
IN VIRGINIA AND THE REVOLUTION. *By G.
MacLaren Brydon, D. D., Historiographer of the
Diocese of Virginia.*

THE original articles comprising this publication appeared from time to time in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* and have now been bound together for convenience of reference. It is the first complete record of the kind which has ever been made. In all, 122 clergymen living in Virginia have been listed by Dr. Brydon, 44 of whom were native Americans. Dr. Brydon brings out the significant fact that of the total number of 122 clergy resident in Virginia in the period of the Revolution, only 13 were known to be tories. There are biographical sketches of the clergy in alphabetical order. It is a valuable and excellent piece of work and worthy of wide circulation.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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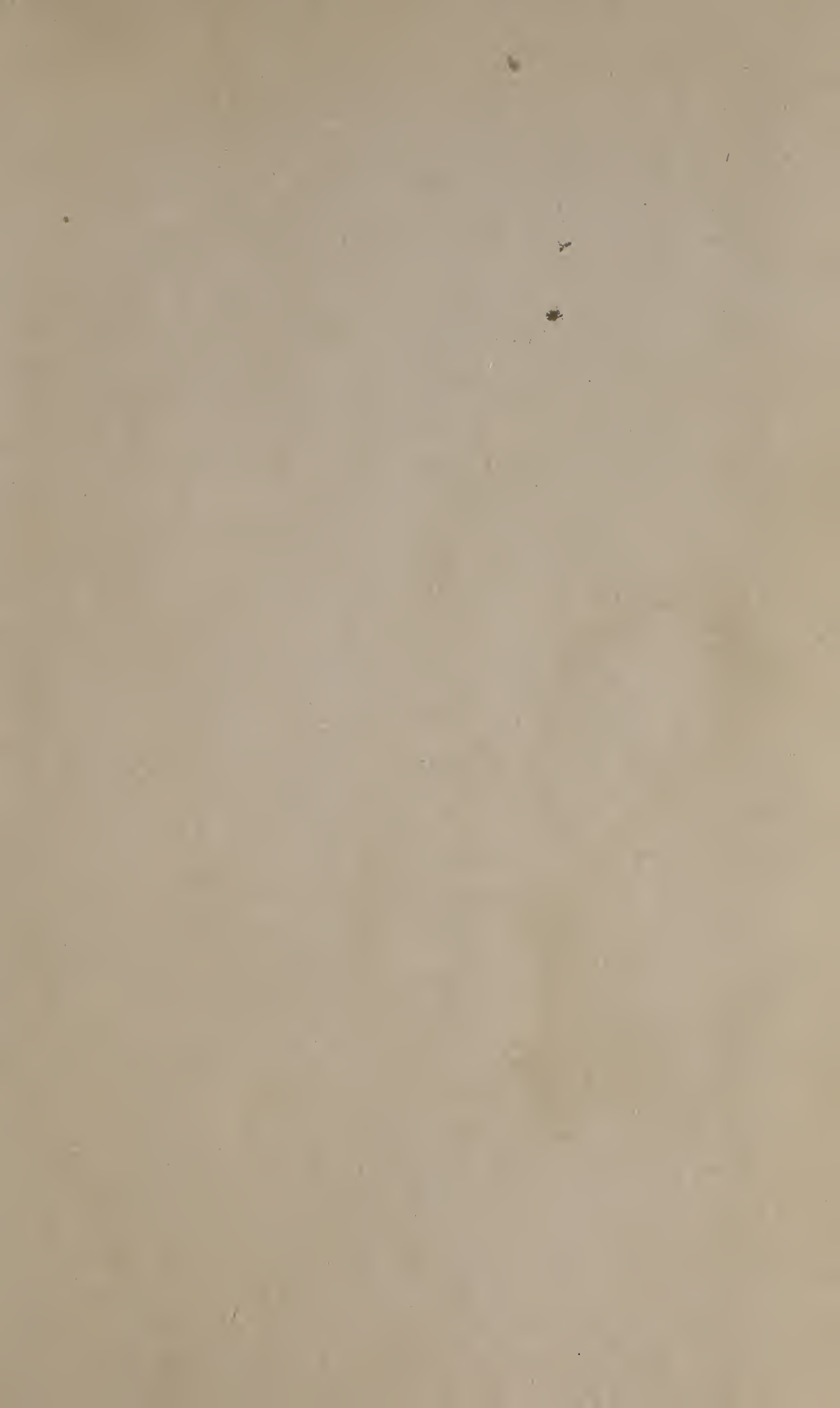
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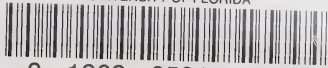
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